



W. L. G. 1880

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THE
NATIONAL
PORTRAIT
GALLERY.



CASSILL, PETTER & GALPIN,

LONDON, PARIS & NEW YORK.

CONTENTS.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.	1
THE RIGHT HON. B. DISRAELI, M.P.	2
THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.	3
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY	4
THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	5
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE COCKBURN	6
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GARNET WOLSELEY, K.C.B.	7
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G.	8
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL RUSSELL, K.G.	9
THE RIGHT HON. LORD CAIRNS	10
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.	11
H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G.	12
THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER	13
THE RIGHT HON. SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, M.P.	14
JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P.	15
THOMAS CARLYLE	16
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL DUFFERIN, P.C., K.P., K.C.B.	17
W. H. SMITH, Esq., M.P.	18
THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM MORLEY PUNSHON	19
THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T.	20

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

[N selecting Mr. GLADSTONE as the first object of attention in our modern NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, we take the man who, during many recent years, stood at the nation's helm.

"Old order changeth, yielding place to new," and, with multitudinous other fashions, those of the literary treatment of biography vary. The practice great poets once had of . . . an epic . . . and thrashing in antithesis their famous contemporaries has died . . . may be said to have founded, and that later one in which . . . things of the past. We have grown a little more charitable . . . party spirit is not yet quite extinguished, we no longer hit each other so hard as it was once the fashion to do. The influence of the new spirit is, on the whole, a good one, and though glorious John's battle-axe and Pope's keen lancet are laid away for ever, there remain other weapons which are still potent in the hands of honesty. Had John Dryden lived in these latter days, and given exercise and scope to his old proclivities, he would have drawn such a pen-and-ink portrait of William Ewart Gladstone as we may now vainly look for. Mr. Gladstone possesses in an eminent degree those varying qualifications, and those apparently contradictory abilities, which are especially inviting to the portrait-painter and the caricaturist. He is emphatically what my Lord Verulam calls "a full man," and he is as various in talent as he is full. By no means inconsiderable as a poet, he is first among living financiers, and among the first of living statesmen. With mind saturated with the hero-worshipping poetry of ancient Greece, he is the leading Liberal statesman of his time. He is at once a copious and graceful writer, and an orator of the first rank. He is half as various as that Earl of Buckingham who is made immortal by Dryden's magnificent satire; but his varieties of mood and employment are all noble. It is hard to find anywhere an abstract definition which can be unreservedly accepted; but if that description of genius which pronounces it "a concentration of many talents upon one object" be the true one, it may be said that Mr. Gladstone has only missed superlative greatness in any one of the walks he has chosen because he has not exclusively devoted himself to it.

Keats says of Shakespeare that "he did easily men's utmost." That may be true, but

it is far more certain that the efforts of average greatness are inevitably accompanied by an eager enthusiasm. With the multiplication of objects comes naturally a more constant call for this larger flow of vitality, and whatever regret we may have felt, there was room for but little surprise, when we learned that Mr. Gladstone desired rest. Of late years especially, he has done harder and more various work than any other man of the time. But it is not probable that he will even now retire from active Parliamentary work. A restless energy is one of his chief characteristics, and, like Ulysses, he may sail, as the leader of some large enterprise, "to meet the close of life. That that close may be long in coming is a hope in which men of all shades of political belief can heartily and honestly join.

It is singular to notice how many of our great politicians have been compelled, by changing views, to quit one side of the Speaker's chair for the other. That coarse virulence which makes globo use of the word "turncoat," and its kindred phrases, finds a ready explanation for such a change. But as a rule, when it relates to English politicians, this method of criticism is as false as it is vulgar. To the honest, the thoughtful, and the large-minded, the field of politics presents many uncertain and dubious roads. The broad distinction between Radical and Tory is not less broad, but there are a thousand niceties between, and the adoption of any one of them may lead an honest thinker very far from his original standpoint. It may be worth while to trace, in the one eminent instance now under notice, the way by which such a man may travel.

William Ewart Gladstone was born in Liverpool, in the ninth year of this century. His father—a man of great energy and determination—was a disciple of Mr. Canning, to whose politics he always adhered; indeed, in 1812, he brought Mr. Canning to Liverpool by himself undertaking to guarantee the expenses of the election. The lines of party were in those days far wider apart than now, and much more strictly drawn. Political principles are no longer dependent on social position. The mild political warmth of our happier times was then a consuming fire, and was destined to become, not much later, sevenfold intensified. When the future Premier was ten years old, Shelley had written that tremendous sonnet beginning with the line, "An old, deposed, mad, blind, and dying king," and had published his great but frantic "Address to the People of England." The points of the charter, harmless as some of them now appear, were beginning to be asked for with a dangerous and peremptory eagerness, and the demand was met in a spirit as dangerous and peremptory. From the quiet of his father's home, young Gladstone looked—to change the figure just employed—upon a savage and relentless sea of political excitement, of the fury of whose waves the modern politician can form but an inadequate conception. It was impossible that a spirit so ardent and enthusiastic could long remain uninfluenced by so wild a turmoil, and it was impossible that a youth so situated should do other, for a time at least, than attach himself to the side of "law and order." On all hands he would hear denunciations of the revolutionary spirit of the age, and lamentations over the discontent of the vulgar. The awful pathos of the undertone of that great sea had not yet reached his ears. That there was pathos there as well as rage everybody now admits, and there are now probably but few members of the Conservative body who, holding their present opinions, would not join the Liberal ranks, if it were possible that England should again be reduced to such extremities. Mr. Gladstone, then, began life as a strong Tory, and did so under a heavy sense of danger. The politics of his home associates made the temporary adoption of the Conservative creed imperative. To the wealthy merchant, his father, that creed was almost the only one possible. The dangers with which he—in common with most respectable and rich people—filled the political atmosphere, were not imaginary. A revolution was only too imminent. That it could never have succeeded,

and could only have heaped disaster on disaster if it had, is patent. But the fear was well-grounded, and the efforts which averted it were almost timed to a day. This question is now so far away that it can be discussed with perfect freedom from party spirit. Both sides were guilty of grave errors, and the politics of that unhappy time are now dead and buried.

It will easily be seen how the opinions thus gained were fostered by the removal of the young man who held them to the University of Oxford. The soul of genuine political principle, of whatsoever character, is loyalty. The direction of that loyalty may vary as it will, but to sanctify the principle adopted it must be present. One man prides himself upon his reverence for the glories of the past, and his loyalty attaches itself to our magnificent traditions. Another looks for greater glory in the future, and is loyal to his faith in the splendours which are not as yet revealed. There is a dogmatic Conservatism which is only possible to youth, as there is a reckless Liberalism which is impossible to ripe years and settled judgment. To the one class

—————"Freedom's self comes concrete
Fixed in a feudal form incarnately
To suit their ways of thought and reverence."

The other vainly strains in an extravagant fashion

—————"after some ideal good,
Some equal poise of sex, some unvowed love
Inviolable, some spontaneous brotherhood.
Some wealth that leaves none poor and finds none tired."

Each form of thought is natural and noble, but is only possible, in its fulness, for the young. A wise man would be apt to care little which of the two his son adopted, since each is wholesome in its tendency, and neither can very well be permanent. All the world laughed goodhumouredly when a young member of an aristocratic house wrote that couplet in which he professed himself ready to witness the death of laws and learning, art and science, if only "our old nobility" might be spared. Mr. Gladstone, though capable of an equal enthusiasm, could never have perpetrated a parallel absurdity. That he would be enthusiastic in his devotion to his principles, and brilliantly ardent in their defence, is beyond a doubt. About the time of his sojourn at Oxford, and for some years later, divers contemptuous phrases, supposed to be descriptive of the people, were much in vogue. They spoke the spirit of the current "respectability" of the time, and that spirit would not be without its influence on a beginner in life, who was remarkable for the brightness of his intellect, and who was eager to please.

But the explanation of Mr. Gladstone's change of politics is not entirely to be based upon the fact that early political impressions are for the most part transient. It will be remembered that his celebrated book on "Church and State" was published when he had arrived at the age of thirty years. But we shall come nearer to the explanation as we watch the interval which separates his later career at college from the time at which that work was written. At the beginning of his twenty-second year, he took a double first-class at Oxford, and with his honours thick upon him went on the Continent, and travelled for a time; and returning to England, entered Parliament at the age of twenty-three, as the nominee of the Duke of Newcastle, and the representative of the borough of Newark. His Conservative opinions having carried him thus far, it is obvious that any probability of their being cast aside was much diminished, or at least postponed. The opinions of the multitude on any question

are often the results of accident. The average man contracts opinions by contact. Indeed no man can be wholly insensible to the beliefs of those among whom he moves, and the political history of ninety-nine men in a hundred would have been determined for ever by the circumstances which had so far attended upon Mr. Gladstone's career. There is no doubt that to the present those circumstances have tintured his belief, and have tended to restrain his natural ardour.

Some thinkers say that it would be well if all Liberal politicians could have a Conservative training, and if all Conservatives could enjoy the advantages of a youth of Radicalism. Had Mr. Gladstone suddenly apostatised, his defence would have been a matter of difficulty, and it would have been hard to reconcile the fact at once with wisdom and with honesty. But the change was long in coming, and slow in progress. He was, up to a certain point in his career, attached to his party by nearly every conceivable tie. Sir Robert Peel welcomed him to the House, and when the young aspirant for Parliamentary honours was but a little over twenty-five, made him first a Lord of the Treasury, and afterwards Under-Secretary to the Colonies. Peel's reign was a brief one, but it was long enough to enable the youthful politician to taste the sweets of power, and to cement the bond which held him to his party. There was no member of the Conservative body of that time upon whom it seemed more probable that its ultimate leadership would devolve. He was young, it is true, and the prospect might seem far away, but it still presented itself as a legitimate and most attractive object of ambition.

When in April, 1835, Sir Robert Peel was deposed from office, the fact made no difference in Mr. Gladstone's attachment to the cause, which he still vigorously supported both by his speeches in the House and by his pen. As time went on it became evident that his Conservatism was most intense in its religious aspect; and almost at the time at which this fact was decidedly manifested by the publication of his two essays, the strictness of his creed was relaxed in some other matters. These essays were published in 1840 and 1841, and were respectively entitled "The State considered in its Relations with the Church," and "Church Principles considered in their Results." They were very angrily received by the *Edinburgh Review*, in whose columns Macaulay reviewed them with vastly more candour than kindness. An allusion is made to the earlier of these productions in Carlyle's "Life of Sterling." It occurs in a letter written by poor Sterling, who says: "I have not yet seen Gladstone's 'Church and State,' but as there is a copy in Rome, I hope soon to lay hands on it. I saw yesterday in the *Times* a furious, and I am sorry to say most absurd, attack on him and it, and the new Oxonian school." That the *Times* was at this period friendly disposed to the party to which Mr. Gladstone belonged, is evident from the correspondence which passed, at the termination of Sir Robert Peel's brief time of office, between the ex-Premier and the editor of the great journal. In the course of that correspondence, Sir Robert wrote: "Having this day delivered into the hands of the King the seals of office, I can without any imputation of an interested motive express my deep sense of the powerful support which that Government over which I had the honour to preside received from the *Times* newspaper." This renders it tolerably evident that the furious attack of which Sterling speaks was at least made without the influence of party bias.

Mr. Gladstone's deflection from the ranks of his party was rendered easier by the action taken by his chief and preceptor. But he had before Sir Robert Peel's return to office, in the September of 1841, given evidence of a disposition, at least in financial matters, to throw off the faith in which he had been so strictly trained. Here the Liberal policy which was

gradually forcing itself upon his mind could have free scope. Like Sir Robert himself he was almost by nature a master of finance. The orator and the financier are not often combined, or at least, where they are combined, there is a tendency on the part of one faculty to dwarf the other. Many of our great financiers have been able speakers, but between an able speaker and an orator there is a wide difference. Some Parliamentary orators of the higher order have been fair financiers, but it is not too much to say, that the two faculties of oratory and finance have never been so greatly developed in any other English statesman as in Mr. Gladstone.

With the formation of a new Ministry came his appointment as Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint, and in this capacity he attained to his first great Parliamentary success, by the singular lucidity and force with which he explained and defended the financial policy of the Government. Then came the great Free Trade movement, in which for the time the ordinary political signs became entirely misleading, as they did in a less important degree at the passing of the last electoral Reform Bill. In that movement Mr. Gladstone played a large part. The revision of the British Tariff was a most important incident in the history of Free Trade, and a considerable part of the duties of that revision devolved upon Gladstone, whose brilliant and triumphant conduct of a question so vexed and difficult gained for him the high opinion not only of his chief, but also of a large section of the public, who now began to regard his opinion on financial matters as second only to that of Sir Robert Peel, with whom he never clashed on any momentous monetary question. Not long after this he was raised from the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade to the Presidency, which was vacated by Lord Ripon. This post he held with increasing honour for two years. Meanwhile his preceptor, the leader under whose banner he had enlisted as an enthusiastic young Tory, was gradually weaning him from Tory principles, and when in 1845 the question of the Abolition of the Corn Laws came to be advocated, he made his first decided secession from the ranks of the older-fashioned adherents of his party. He still followed Peel's lead, but a conscientious scruple, which a man less obstinately and inflexibly honest would have disregarded, led to his resignation from office, and his temporary absence from the House of Commons. The Duke of Newcastle, already mentioned as having by his influence procured for Mr. Gladstone his seat in Parliament, was strongly opposed to the repeal of the Corn Laws; and Mr. Gladstone, with that nice sense of honour with which he is almost Quixotically endowed, felt that he could no longer sit as the nominee of one from whose views he so broadly dissented. In May, 1845, he accordingly resigned his seat, and his official connection with the Ministry. For two years his place in the House of Commons was vacant, but at the expiration of that time he was returned as the representative of the University of Oxford.

The time was quieter now. The one great struggle his Parliamentary experience included was over, and the others were yet to come. There was for a while no renewal of those singular scenes in the House which so constantly occurred during the earlier part of his political career. Of late years, we have seen in the newspapers once or twice the heading "Scene in the House of Commons," but a very mild disturbance is recorded in such cases. When we are told, as we have frequently been within the last few months, that oratory is dying out, and that the faculty of fluent and pleasant talk is succeeding it, we find a natural and complete explanation of the fact in the decrease of party feeling, and the consequent lack of exciting matter. No member can now be stung into rhodomontade by the laughter of the House at his own boast that he had been imprisoned for his political opinions, as was the once famous orator Hunt, nor could a man of the habitual self-repression and calmness of Sir

Robert Peel now yield to so great a display of personal rage as that statesman once—and once only—exhibited. The orators now left in the House of Commons were all reared in a school which favoured the growth of oratorical powers as much as the present condition of affairs retards it. But for a little while this extreme excitement slept, and Mr. Gladstone among others found but few opportunities for the display of his higher qualifications as a speaker. Yet there were few men of his age on either side who were regarded as giving so much promise, and fewer who had so early performed so much.

In the year 1852 the Derby Ministry was formed, and here for the first time Mr. Gladstone gave positive proof of his deviation from the principles on which he had originally entered Parliament, by refusing the post offered for his acceptance by the head of that Ministry. Mr. Disraeli, whose persistent attacks on Peel were forgiven by many and forgotten by most, held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Derby, and it was on the occasion of his production of the Budget that he and Mr. Gladstone gave the first of many great gladiatorial exhibitions to the House. The Budget was mercilessly handled by Mr. Gladstone, and it was mainly in consequence of his attack that the Derby Cabinet was overthrown. His reputation for ability in finance was largely increased by this signal result of his criticism, and the formation of the Coalition Government under Lord Aberdeen brought with it the appointment which gave him his first great opportunity for practically justifying the expectations he had raised. He served under that Government as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1853 made the first of his great Budget speeches. The Ministry was not however destined to be a successful one, or to gain for itself a very brilliant reputation, despite the undoubted abilities of many of its members. There was but little honour to be got, and but little good work to be done. The opinions of the politician were also undergoing a yet more rapid process of modification than they had hitherto experienced. Things were altogether unsettled, and it would not have been easy to prophesy as to what form of political faith might result as the outcome of Mr. Gladstone's early views and his devoted following of Sir Robert Peel.

It is difficult for the mere reader of to-day to separate from each other, and to analyse and test, the varying influences which during the last years of Peel's lifetime had their result upon party life, and upon individual conviction. But amidst all the nicer influences which after this lapse of years are only recognisable by those whose memory carries them back to the times themselves, there are one or two which are remarkably broad and plain. The action taken by many members of his party with respect to the Corn Laws would doubtless influence largely the new formation of Mr. Gladstone's ideas, and the split which took place upon a question of such great national significance and moment would prepare his mind for the contemplation of the final dissolution of the ties which yet bound him to the Tory party. But the influence at once most singular and most palpable as relating personally to Mr. Gladstone can clearly be traced to Sir Robert Peel, whose instincts were probably more Radical than those of Mr. Gladstone have ever been. The greater number of the public men who took part in the Legislative reforms of this time were exposed to a twofold attack. Many of them were condemned by their old friends, supporters, and colleagues, and bitter charges of desertion were heaped upon them; whilst from the other side came savage denunciations of the sluggish nature of their policy. By the one side they were reviled as the subverters of old institutions, and by the other abused as the tyrannous supporters of obsolete laws. It came about that one and the same man might be regarded by different persons as a dangerous Radical and a bigoted Tory. This condition of politics shook political faith; and when the calm which followed had fairly settled down, the creeds of many had undergone large changes.

Mr. Gladstone, being not yet sufficiently settled in Liberal doctrines definitely and wholly to separate himself from his old associates, and being yet so far alienated from their beliefs that he could no longer fight with any of his old enthusiasm in their cause, took at this time but little share in the active affairs of Parliamentary life. He found ample and congenial employment in the fields of literature. There, at least, he could walk with certain steps; and the character of his intellect, at once impassioned and analytical, drew him most naturally back to his old loves of ancient Greece. His scholarship had long been known as both graceful and profound, and in this interval of rest from public labours he reverted to his favourite study of Homer. In 1858 he produced the work by which his connection with literature will be perhaps chiefly remembered—"Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age." His qualifications for the successful treatment of such a work were of a special nature, and the work is proportionately valuable. If the book were read by one who was an entire stranger to Mr. Gladstone's reputation, it is probable that the last department in which such a student would suppose the author to be famous would be that of finance. But the connection in one mind of the calculating and the poetic faculties has been sometimes observed in a remarkable degree. Thomas Carlyle, whose genius is essentially of the poetical order, was known as a rare master of mathematics before he was recognised as a public teacher, or dreamt of as the literary giant he has since grown to be. Edgar Allan Poe, whose intellect, next to that of Shelley, was probably the most intensely imaginative of his century, was a notable arithmetician, and might, under happier auspices, have made a most respectable Controller of the American Exchequer. These instances of double faculty are, however, very rare and surprising. The very word "calculating" has come to be used as a synonym for calm, cold, dispassionate; whereas the very life and essence of poetry and of oratory is enthusiasm. The handling of such a subject as that which Mr. Gladstone has chosen for his highest literary effort demanded a large poetic sensibility, and the inward fire for which politics, in his then condition, could find no vent, discovered for itself in this enterprise a safe and profitable outlet. Subsequent writings afford renewed evidence of this power; and his latest contribution to literature, the magnificent description of the Shield of Achilles, gives proof of high poetical power. Its chief excellence by no means lies in its scholarship, however profound that may be. There is in these verses a command of English such as is rarely exhibited—the English of our noblest school of poetry. There is a fine swing and resonance about the lines, too, which reminds us of some of Mr. Gladstone's most felicitous spoken sentences.

His public duties were only partially suspended during this transition period, and in the year following that in which his book appeared he was once more offered a post under the Derby Administration. He again declined, but not long afterwards accepted a Commissionership to the Ionian Islands. This office was one in which, while he had fair scope as a diplomatist, there was no especial call for a manifestation of party zeal. When, after the favourable termination of the work entrusted to his charge—that of negotiating the transfer of the Islands from the English possession to that of Greece—he returned to England, he found the Derby Cabinet in dangerous strait, and in no great time Lord Palmerston grasped the reins of power. The political characteristics of that nobleman are well within the personal recollection even of the younger men of the present generation, and it will be admitted that one who had been a devoted follower of Sir Robert Peel in the excited Corn-Law days was not making any very large advances in the direction of Radicalism by enlisting under the Palmerstonian banner. Under the Government over which Palmerston presided, Mr. Gladstone re-assumed the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his

splendid capacities for its duties again and again asserted themselves. He shared in 1860 in the negotiation of that fresh treaty of commerce in which Napoleon III. took so deep an interest, and in this work he was closely associated with Cobden. His justification of that treaty is remembered as one of his happiest efforts, and the two following years were signalised by the abolition of the paper duty and the reduction of the income-tax, and of the duty upon tea.

In 1865, Lord Palmerston dying, Mr. Gladstone naturally succeeded him as the leader of the Liberal party. A different rule to that of his predecessor was necessary to satisfy the country; and Mr. Gladstone, though not apt to originate any reforms but those of a financial class, has succeeded in passing many. With whatever result, the *vox populi* is at this time the true ruling power of England, and the late Premier has always shown himself open to the influences of settled public opinion. It cannot be said by his enemies that he has ever truckled to it, or that he has obeyed its dictates from a selfish love of power. His rejection by Oxford in 1865, his return for South Lancashire, the subsequent events by which he represented Greenwich, and the recent transference of himself and of the Liberal party to the "cold shade of Opposition," are things fresh in the memory of all who interest themselves in political matters.

The General Election of 1874, and the part played in it by Mr. Gladstone, its central figure, are indeed too recent for treatment as a matter of history. Men's minds are for a long while exercised with reference to crises such as this. The battle-field is not soon cleared of the smoke of action, and few, until a calm has come, can survey it justly. The Gladstone Parliament will however have a conspicuous place in history; its legislation for Ireland, as for England, must be acknowledged to have been stupendous. If for nothing but the marvellous amount of work he has performed, Mr. Gladstone would be a remarkable man. The burden and heat of the day, as his followers in the House of Commons with pain remarked, during the close of the session of 1873, told upon him, and it was easy to believe the rumour which sometimes obtained that the Premier, satisfied with what he had been permitted to accomplish, longed for rest.

That rest came unexpectedly. While the country was absorbed in the interesting ceremonies which, in the gay capital on the banks of the Neva, were making a Russian princess and an Austrian prince one flesh, suddenly, like a veritable Aaron's rod swallowing up every other subject, came the cry, "A General Election!" The country decided against Mr. Gladstone, and he was succeeded by the statesman before whose portrait we shall next pause. Mr. Gladstone, appearing then as leader of Her Majesty's Opposition, seemed entirely to have thrown off the harassing cares by which he had long been beset; and when, on the 24th of April, attacked for the manner in which he had dissolved his Parliament, he defended himself and vindicated his policy in the House of Commons, the orator's freshness and fire instinctively reminded the older members of the times when his Budget speeches entranced them as no other Budget speeches have ever since been able to do. And now, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, Mr. Gladstone, looking younger and more active than many a man of fifty, still leads the Liberal party, still remains in harness, a man of whom the nation has indeed a right to be proud. Loyal, honest, untiring in energy, rich in scholarship, great in those qualities which make the leader of a people worthy of the people's honour and regard, he has earned for himself a high and solid fame, which the verdict of future generations can only serve to confirm.

[The Portrait accompanying this Memoir is from a Photograph taken by the London Stereoscopic Company.]



P. Pisselli

THE RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI.

MR. DISRAELI is one of the superlatively successful men of his time. At the outset of his career his chances of success were infinitesimal. There is scarcely a conceivable barrier over which he has not had to climb; there is scarcely a prejudice he has not at one time or other surmounted. There is nothing about Mr. Disraeli which is more surprising than his success. He has achieved his position by sheer force of individuality, yet his intellectual formation is not that which would be supposed at first sight to be most attractive to Englishmen. His method of mind is essentially apart from that which characterises most English intellects. He has an Eastern leaning to the gorgeous, the luxurious, and the hyperbolical, which is positively opposed to the instincts of the people amongst whom he has so wonderfully succeeded. The prejudices of birth, of race, and of wealth, were all against him when he started in life, and yet he may be said rather to have stormed than conciliated the public favour. He displayed at the opening of his career a faith in himself which seemed laughable at the time, and was indeed most plenteously laughed at, but he has since more than justified that high estimate of his own powers. The most sanguine of his admirers could not have foreseen a *dénouement* so startling as that which has come about; the smoothest of prophets could not have prophesied such smooth things as have befallen him. Nothing seemed more probable than that he would go through life as a sort of brilliant social Ishmael, his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him. Yet he holds to-day—and that not for the first time—the Premiership of England. If we look closely for the reason of this success we shall find it in a gigantic, and justifiable, self-appreciation. Whilst all the world read him wrongly, he read himself aright. Confident in his estimate of himself, he dared and defied the estimate of society, and he has amply made good the daring and the defiance.

Mr. Disraeli's political career goes back within six years of the time at which Mr. Gladstone entered Parliament. We have endeavoured to show from what causes the Tory aspirant for Parliamentary honours became the Prime Minister of Liberal England. A review of Mr. Disraeli's life will afford an easy explanation of the influences which moulded the unrecognised Radical into the admitted Conservative chief. By the very constitution of his intellect Mr. Disraeli is a Conservative. It is one of his finest characteristics that he not only has never shrunk from the avowal of his nationality, but that he has made it a boast, a glory, and a pride. He has "smiled at the claims of long descent" preferred by the aristocracy of Europe, and has contrasted them with that heritage of family pride and national patriotism which constitutes the one splendour left to a despised and scattered people. He has disarmed the unreasoning virulence of vulgar enemies, by the pride with which he has worn the insignia they would have pointed to as the badge of his humiliation. The influence of the sentiment thus boldly displayed is intensely Conservative. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the novels and poems of Sir

Walter Scott exercised a very perceptible Conservative influence. They carried the minds of men back into the past, and imbued them with a fictitious belief in its nobility. But Mr. Disraeli's mind was drawn to the contemplation of a past whose splendours were genuine and solid. He was associated with a people whose history is the record of the noblest human progress. Recipients and conservators of the faith in a Theocracy, the race from whence he sprung formed to the world the centre of its sweetness and civilisation. To him the ranks from which the oldest English nobility had risen might well seem a barbarous horde; and the calls to Conservatism which present themselves naturally to an English aristocrat were weak compared with his. As we have already said, the story of his life shows clearly how this sentiment was for a while diverted, and how natural and inevitable was its return.

In the year 1748, came from Venice to England the first member of the house of Disraeli. His grandson describes him as "a man of ardent character; sanguine, courageous, speculative, and fortunate; with a temper which no disappointment could disturb, and a brain, amid reverses, full of resource"—altogether the kind of man to whom success appears almost a foregone conclusion. He succeeded; he amassed a fortune, and spent the latter years of his life in an elegant, refined leisure. He laid out an Italian garden at Enfield, and, from his grandson's description of him, seems to have had a very fairly cultivated idea of the niceties of life. He left behind him one son—a quiet, retiring, meditative, studious man, who knew nothing of the world and cared nothing for its business. To him English politics presented a field so alien and foreign, that he not only never meddled with them, but never understood them. He was so wrapt and absorbed in his books, that his son describes himself as having been "born in a library." The wonder which in any case would have attended Mr. Disraeli's entrance into political life, is largely increased by the remembrance of his father's disposition. He was a man so devoted to learning that he was almost without companions and friends; he was refined in his tastes and pursuits, "simple as Goldsmith, and learned as a grammarian of the Middle Ages."

Born in his father's house in London, in the December of the fifth year of this century, Benjamin Disraeli was reared in seclusion and his education was conducted at home. In his preface to his latest work, he speaks of himself as having been "trained by learned men who did not share the prejudices or the passions of our political and social life;" and remarks that, as the result of this training, he early imbibed on some subjects conclusions different from those which generally prevailed, and especially with reference to the history of our own country. The spirit of the grandfather revived in the grandson, and all the seclusion of the life he led could not rob him of the keen and inquiring mind with which he looked upon the doings of the outer world. We have it on his own confession that what most attracted his musing even as a boy were the elements of political parties. But Mr. Disraeli's first attack upon public attention was made through the medium of literature. He was very young when family circumstances rendered it necessary that he should leave his father's house, and he was accordingly placed in an attorney's office. Here at the age of twenty-one he began to write, and his first efforts were produced in obedience to the natural Conservative bent of his mind. They appeared in a daily paper which was not blessed with a very long life, and which now owes its remembrance solely to the fact that Mr. Disraeli once contributed to its columns. Two years later, the young political writer published his first novel, "Vivian Grey," and awoke to find himself if not famous, at least on the road to fame. The book was read and talked about, and the author found himself the object of a good deal of favourable and unfavourable criticism. I

is but a jejune performance, however, and Mr. Disraeli has himself attempted to suppress it. He remarks with a natural complacency that he has failed in this attempt. It cannot now damage his fame, and it is worthy of continued publicity if only as an indication of the nature of the earlier formations of an intellect so singular and so great. Its style is bombastic and sexagenarian, but in that respect it is nowise to be wondered at. "Beardless Byron was pedemical," and Pope wrote at sixteen as though he were sixty.

The publication of "Vivian Grey" opened for the young aspirant a wide field of ambition. On the strength of the hopes thus presented, he made a two years' journey to the East, and there, in the lands associated with the history of his own people, he deepened and strengthened those ties of patriotic attachment which have at all times in his career wielded so large an influence over him. The result of that journey he gave to the world in his "wondrous tale of 'Alroy'" and "Contarini Fleming." There is a very considerable advance visible in these works, though they still preserve the aged and experienced air of an old man of the world. There is, in fact, through all Mr. Disraeli's literary work this singular evidence of egotism. His career has since justified it, but he would probably be as ready as any man to admit that it was not surprising that at the time of their publication, when the author was known to be a young man of somewhat confined experience, they should have met with severe handling in many quarters.

It was about this time that the first apparent contradiction of his political opinions declared itself. The explanation lies almost on the surface. There is no conviction so likely to persuade to Radicalism in politics, as that which tempts a man to believe that his own progress is hindered and restricted by a social Toryism. Whilst Mr. Disraeli was by nature a Conservative, and whilst all the influences of that past to which he was so devotedly attached fostered the natural bias of his mind, he could not be long in discovering that the very sentiments he held were opposed to his own rise in life; and it must never be forgotten that Mr. Disraeli's Conservatism had not been, and many would add even now is not, altogether of an English cast. This fact rendered the arguments on the other side all the more cogent. He saw himself bound and hampered by the exclusive restrictions of his own political creed. Had he, constituted as he was, been born into the atmosphere of English life under more favourable circumstances, he would have been Conservative from first to last. But to a spirit so ardent, so pugnacious, and so ambitious, the English *cordon* of respectabilities declared itself as hateful. He returned to England from the East whilst the battle for Parliamentary reform still raged. In that fight he took no part, but when the struggle was over and the Reform Bill had passed, he made his first attempt to enter Parliament. He chose the county which he has now represented uninterruptedly since 1847, and contested the borough of Wycombe, for which he was brought forward and supported by the Tories; but this, Mr. Disraeli's first attempt after Parliamentary honours, was a failure.

Again he attempted Parliament, this time contesting the metropolitan borough of Marylebone, and announcing himself in favour of triennial Parliaments and vote by ballot, measures which were at that time certainly features in the Radical programme. In 1835, two years after that metropolitan attempt, he tried again. For his third effort he went to Taunton, and there avowed himself a Tory. But he was no more successful in this character than in the last, and his claims were again rejected. Mr. Disraeli has never been an easily-frightened man. Patience is his strong point. All his life through he has been marked by a certain happy boldness, which has carried him over difficulties before which other men would have sat down in sheer despair. If a man will but earnestly enough believe in his own ultimate success, it would need less than a tithe of Mr. Disraeli's ability to bring that success about sooner or later. These cheerful prognostics affect Fate herself.

In 1837, Mr. Disraeli again came up in the fore-front of the electoral battle; and at last won in the fight in which he had been so often defeated, and took his first seat in the House of Commons as the representative of Maidstone.

There are probably many men who might have been orators, who have spoiled themselves of the gift of public speech by early authorship. It rarely happens that a man is at once a successful writer and a great speaker. It is very probable that Mr. Disraeli's powers as a speaker, six-and-thirty years ago, were considerably restricted by his continued and copious use of the pen. The story of his first speech in Parliament is, on several grounds, one of the most memorable things related of the House within Mr. Disraeli's own remembrance of it. There is an indefinable something which must be possessed by every man whose first speech can be pleasing to the English House of Commons. Whatever that something may be, Mr. Disraeli was not its possessor. He had prepared a speech, and prepared it carefully—it was gorgeous, pompous, elaborate, epigrammatic; but the House would not listen to it. The speaker was laughed down before his oration was half recited. This must have been a very bitter failure indeed. Here for six years had he been struggling to get into Parliament, and now having actually reached the Hesperides of his hopes, he fulfilled the old fable. Thousands of men before him and after him have tasted the bitter fruit of that region, but there have not been many who, with the ashes still between their teeth, could show so smooth a face as did Mr. Disraeli. His speech was a failure—the first sweet moment of the longed-for senatorial triumph became bitter as gall; he rose in bright confidence, he sat down crowned with derision. There was something absolutely heroic in the alert defiance and cheerful audacity with which the young orator met the storm of disapproval. There was a very signal coolness and intrepidity about the opening statement of the sentences with which he answered the laughter of the House. "I have begun several times many things, and have often succeeded at last." In the next sentence cool ~~intrepidity flashed into~~ hot defiance. "I shall sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me." Those words were not without their weight upon the House, and it is probable that to many members the impromptu sentences revealed the man whom the laboured and high-flown oration had rather obscured. There are few things more creditable to Mr. Disraeli than his reception of this defeat.

The first year of Mr. Disraeli's Parliamentary life was signalised by the discussion on the New Poor Law question. Concerning that question all England fermented, and Thomas Carlyle among others wrote of it in his usual impetuous and earnest fashion. But that great and important point was settled without much help from Mr. Disraeli, whose light—put out untimely—was not fairly rekindled for some two years. Then his prophecy came true, and the House listened to him, as he vexed and harried the last days of the Melbourne Administration. He became acknowledged *par excellence* the satirist of the House. William Cobbett himself, who died the year before Mr. Disraeli's return for Maidstone, was not a harder or a more relentless hitter; nor could Daniel O'Connell, who still flourished that oratorical bludgeon of his in the eyes and over the heads of honourable members, surpass Mr. Disraeli, except with respect to the rough force of his attacks. It took time to do it, but Mr. Disraeli's manly pride in his nationality disarmed O'Connell's coarsest invective at last. But he had not been many years in the House when his own invective was disarmed in a somewhat similar fashion. Night after night he had brought his polished sarcasms, his bitter epigrams, his felicitous power of descriptive caricature to bear upon Sir Robert Peel, and upon his Administration. Sir Robert and his friends, sailing from old Toryism and Protection to Whiggism and Free Trade, and daily drifting further from their original course, afforded an inviting object for attack by Mr. Disraeli, who now fought in the ranks of the Protectionist fleet led by Lord

George Bentinck. But the full career of the satirist was stayed one night by a memorable circumstance. Poor Benjamin Haydon, the painter, found his hook-nosed Roman figures on his big canvases quite unsaleable. There were people on all hands who were willing to admit his genius. Leigh Hunt praised him generously in the *Ecaminer*, and Keats addressed to him a most enthusiastic sonnet. But somehow he quarrelled with his friends, or they with him. Matters grew desperate, and at last when the poor great artist, frenzied by the world's neglect and borne utterly down by his misfortunes, put an end to his own existence, one fact concerning Sir Robert Peel came out which for ever silenced Mr. Disraeli's invective. Among the papers of the unhappy artist appeared memoranda of private help from Sir Robert. Haydon's death shocked all London. The news of his neglected state, and of the refined and retiring benevolence of his one helper, melted men's hearts, and the House had no longer any taste for that "roasting of Sir Robert" which had once so tickled its fancy.

Under his friend Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Disraeli took a prominent part in the formation of the "Young England" party. The policy which Mr. Disraeli then advocated, and which he has subsequently explained more fully, is very significant of the eastern bent of intellect which has already been insisted on. The scheme is one about which it is possible to say all manner of fine and resonant things. There was never yet offered a subject round which sonorous sentences would more freely fall from the lips of an orator. In the formation of this party, Mr. Disraeli naturally appealed to the influences which had determined his own political creed. There is a fine old feudal colouring about it all which is very charming. It is the natural dream of an intellect at once speculative and conservative. It is easy to admit its nobility. Mr. Ruskin, in his "Sesame and Lilies," propounds a scheme which he admits in the present condition of things to be impossible, but which he naively remarks is not the less noble on that ground. Some such criticism may be now applied to the "Young England" theory, and that Young England which so eagerly seized at it—since grown middle-aged and grey—has come to the recognition of its impracticabilities. It will perhaps be worth while to quote Mr. Disraeli's own exposition of the scheme:—

"Under the plea of Liberalism," he says, "all the institutions which were the bulwarks of the multitude had been sapped and weakened, and nothing had been substituted for them. Those who were in theory the national party, and who sheltered themselves under the institutions of the country against the oligarchy, had, both by a misconception and a neglect of their duties, become and justly become odious. The oligarchy, who had mainly founded themselves on the plunder of the popular estate,* either in the shape of the possessions of the Church or the domain of the Crown, had, by the patronage of certain general principles, which they only meagrely applied, assumed, and to a certain extent acquired, the character of a popular party. But no party was national. One was exclusive and odious, the other liberal and cosmopolitan. To change back the oligarchy into a generous aristocracy round a real throne; to infuse life and vigour into the Church as the trainer of the nation, by the renewal of Convocation, then dumb, on a wide basis, and not, as has since been done, in the shape of a priestly espionage; to establish a commercial code on the principles successfully negotiated by Lord Bolingbroke at Utrecht (which, though baffled at the time by a Whig Parliament, were subsequently triumphantly vindicated by his political pupil and heir, Mr. Pitt); to govern Ireland according to the policy of Charles I. and not of Oliver Cromwell; to emancipate the political constituency of 1832 from its sectarian bondage and contracted sympathies; to elevate the physical as well as the moral condition of the people, by establishing the position that

* "Spoliation" does not appear to be so new a cry as some have been disposed to think it.

labour requires regulating as much as property—and all this rather by the use of ancient forms and the restoration of the past, than by political revolutions founded on abstract ideas—appeared to be the course which the circumstances of this country required, and which, practically speaking, could only, with all their faults and backslidings, be undertaken and accomplished by a reconstructed Tory party.”

It is, according to the nature and habit of the reader's political feeling, either a matter for congratulation or regret that this scheme was not found practicable. There is an old-world air about it which is very enchanting. It reads like a proposal to re-establish the order of the Round Table, and to give to the world the assurance of such another “goodly company of famous knights.” But its proposal by Mr. Disraeli was at once wise and effective in a party sense. It did really for the time create a party, and one too of very considerable promise. It was to the guidance of this section of Parliamentary opinion that Mr. Disraeli set himself as his life-task. By this time the greater number of the difficulties of his career had been encountered and vanquished; and, though he was not outwardly acknowledged, he became the virtual leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons. The “Young England” theories were based upon the deepest and most real of Mr. Disraeli's convictions. It may be said that he has held his political opinions but slackly; but it has been very honestly admitted and very candidly urged, by a writer wholly opposed to him in politics, that certain of Mr. Disraeli's ideas have held him very strongly. Those ideas are, in point of fact, the very life and soul of Mr. Disraeli's intellectual organism. They are no accidents of disposition, but are essentially a part of the man to whom they belong. They have influenced all his life, they have impelled him to the share he has taken in political life, they form the one end and aim of his political romances. “Coningsby,” “Sybil,” and “Tancred” form a trilogy in which these opinions have been most freely and forcibly vented. The writer just alluded to sums up these ideas in a sentence: “They are—belief in his race, in the Theocracy to which its sacred books and its history testify, and in the principle of monarchy through which a Theocracy best exercises itself.” It was no doubt well enough for *Punch* to poke fun at Mr. Disraeli's famous phrase, “I am on the side of the angels,” and there was doubtless a great deal of humour in the broad caricature of the right honourable gentleman in the midst of his newly elected associates; but the declaration was very significant of Mr. Disraeli's mind, which is perhaps more Conservative on the theological than on the political side. The “mollusc to man” theory, with its discovery of the ape as the missing link, is perhaps as repulsive an idea as could well be presented to an intellect like that of Mr. Disraeli, whose mind has always appeared deeply permeated with a faith in the Mosaic cosmogony. His attack on Dr. Colenso's impeachment of the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch is another illustration of this prevailing sentiment.

Still guiding the party he had gathered about him, Mr. Disraeli continued his work both in and out of the House with great industry and tact. In 1841 he left Maidstone and became member for Shrewsbury, and for six years remained in the House on those terms. It was during his representation of Shrewsbury that he gave “Coningsby” and “Sybil” to the world; the first having been published in 1844, whilst the second followed close upon its heels in 1845. “Tancred,” the last of the trilogy, appeared in 1847, in which year he accepted the seat for the county of Bucks, which he has since uninterruptedly held. He was in the early prime of middle life, and at the busiest period of his literary career. In addition to the three novels written and published within these last four years, he wrote in 1848 a memoir of his friend Lord George Bentinck, which was chiefly remarkable as illustrating further the precise nature of the author's

theological views, and as affording the history of the "Young England" movement at the hands of the man who was its chief promoter.

After this, politics claimed a supremacy over political literature, and Mr. Disraeli's pen was either altogether laid aside or but sparingly used. Four years went by without bringing about any result, especially worth notice, if we except the more complete foundation of his reputation as a debater. At the end of that time—in the March, that is, of 1852—he took office for the first time under the first Administration of that "Rupert of debate," the late Lord Derby. Under that Government, he held the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. His tenure of office was a brief one, and did not add greatly to his reputation. Mr. Disraeli is not the born financier we recognise in Mr. Gladstone, and the greater glory of the one Parliamentary chief has in that respect altogether drowned the reputation of the other. But he was at the time probably the best man who could be found in the ranks of the party to which he belonged, and on Lord Derby's second assumption of office, the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer was again conferred upon Mr. Disraeli. This occurred in 1858. In 1866 he once more held the same appointment under the same chief, but the current of political opinion was during all that time so strongly against the policy of the Tory party, that its supremacy in the House on either occasion was necessarily of a very brief duration. In 1859 he introduced a Reform Bill, a measure not calculated to arouse a very special enthusiasm in any quarter. In 1866 he was more successful. It was then that that famous "dishing of the Whigs," in which the late Lord Derby was believed to have experienced so lively a delight, was brought about. In the previous session Mr. Gladstone had brought in a Bill, which had been rejected after a tedious fight; and the Liberal chief, with that hard tenacity and obstinate honesty of purpose which have marked the whole of his character, finding himself defeated on this point, which was scarcely perhaps of so vital a nature to the existence of the Government as he imagined, surrendered the reins of power. This consummation was brought about less by the strength of the Tory party than by the defection of a large number of the members of the Liberal ranks, who took refuge in that "Cave of Adullam" which afforded Mr. Bright the ground for one of his happiest hits. Notable among the dissentients from the Liberal programme was Mr. Lowe, who has perhaps scarcely yet re-secured that public confidence, which he then, by his outspoken honesty, in some measure sacrificed.

It was then that Mr. Disraeli, entering for the third time upon a lease of office, gave the country the first great proof of his talent as an educator of party. It is not too much to say that this office, voluntarily undertaken by Mr. Disraeli, would have resulted in the hands of any other man of his party in a most dismal failure. But with a tact which can only be described as marvellous, and an industry and patience of the like of which there is no other record in our Parliamentary history, Mr. Disraeli laboured, and laboured successfully, to soften the obstinate prejudices of many members of his party, and to induce them to concur in a measure of reform. That measure, as it was at first brought forward, included the principle of cumulative voting, which was found to be remarkably objectionable. It was intended as one of the safeguards against the otherwise democratic tendencies of the Bill, and the removal of the clause in which it was embodied rendered the whole Act a far more Radical measure than it was at first intended to be. The principle of the "three-cornered constituency" was much more favourably received, and was embodied in the Act, but experience has proved that it is not fully adapted to its first purpose. But the representation of minorities, which it was intended to secure, is a matter so hedged about with difficulties and uncertainties, that it does not seem probable that any measure will be constructed which will render it fully practicable. The redistribution of seats proposed by the Bill was on the whole regarded as satisfactory, and

though its result on the first General Election told against the party from which the measure had emanated, the redistribution itself, which was on almost all sides admitted as a desideratum, could scarcely be regarded as a party question.

With the General Election, which followed almost immediately on the passing of this Bill, the Conservative party sustained a severe defeat. The defeat was again and again repeated during that triumphant tenure of office on the part of Mr. Gladstone which has so recently closed. During all this time Mr. Disraeli has fought well and gallantly. He has sustained the drooping spirits of his party through most signal reverses, and has at last led them once more to victory. He fought hard against Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the separation of the Irish Church from its State connection, and with all his powers of debate he struggled against the other measures proposed and carried by the Government. In all these matters he appears to have had a far greater amount of support than was indicated by the press.

In 1873 Mr. Disraeli was elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, a tribute alike to his eminence in political life and his distinction as an author. Concerning his latest contribution to literature, "Lothair," it is perhaps scarcely necessary to say much in this place. Its publication is still so recent, and it has been so widely read and so variously criticised, that most people are familiar with its brilliant portraits, and its social, theological, and political tenets.

And, now, Mr. Disraeli, after infinite toil and trouble, after reverses and forlorn hopes, is not only Prime Minister, but leader of an absolutely overwhelming majority in the English Parliament.



Mrs. Biggs



THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT.

ACCORDING to the German myth, the forefathers of the Saxon race were fashioned "on the shores of the Black Sea; out of Harzgebirge rock." Amongst all the strangely significant fables to which in its earlier days the Saxon genius gave birth, there are few more singular or more significant than this. For about that race there has always been a determinate rock-like firmness of will, a hard unwavering tenacity of purpose, a steady immovability of opinion, all of which that quaint and ancient fragment of mythology very aptly expresses.

John Bright is essentially a Saxon. If some discerning foreigner should come hither in search of the typical Englishman, the general voice would point him to the Tribune of the People. He embodies many of those characteristics on which we nationally pride ourselves. This firmness "as of Harzgebirge rock" does not preclude the possession of any of the finer or more tender attributes of men. In speaking or writing of John Bright, the conventional "Mr." seems an impertinence, and the "Right Honourable" an almost foolish supererogation. It is recorded of a certain French journalist, that when the first Napoleon took him familiarly by the ear and said, "I intend to give you the Legion of Honour," the great man answered, "Thank you, Sire, thank you. But could not your Majesty give it to my father? HE VALUES SUCH THINGS!" In some such spirit one may picture Mr. Bright's acceptance of a title of honour. His courage, his honesty, and his high rank as an orator have been long, on all hands, admitted, even by those who are the most thoroughly opposed to the principles to which he has adhered through life. His present fame excels that of most of his contemporaries, inasmuch as he is not followed or admired wholly, or even chiefly, as an orator or a statesman, but that the great mass of the English people respect and esteem him as a man. At the very root of his political convictions, at the very core of his intellect, dwells that passionate "enthusiasm of humanity," which has often been insisted upon as the one thing necessary in the leader of all great public movements. No man acquainted with Mr. Gladstone's career and character can doubt that he also has been influenced by this feeling. But the intensity of the character of the latter has found many outlets; the passionate patriotism of John Bright has rolled in one channel only, and has fertilised but one tract. A personal love, confidence, and admiration, as distinguished from a party predilection, is the especial characteristic which marks the Liberal masses in their feeling for the great advocate of their claims. Other politicians have won this in a measure, but no other man in these later days has borne from the public arena so large a meed. The public favourite has not hesitated to peril his reputation when truth has demanded, as it has seemed to him to do in two signal cases, that he should oppose the public will; but these very oppositions have proved still further his integral honour, and have won for him a still deeper confidence.

The history of a man like Mr. Bright is the history of his time, and of the time which preceded him. It has been acutely remarked that popular feeling is but the oil which facilitates the

movement of the social machine, and that a force of altogether another kind is needed both to set and to keep it in motion. That force the great man supplies, thus making the history of his time; for in the opinion of multitudes there is no active principle. It takes a soul to move a body. A people's heroes are that people's soul, and by them it lives and moves, and by them burns and breathes in after times, and owes to them its immortality. It would be a remarkable study, if there were space for its consideration here, to notice the singularly noble and revivifying influences which the principle of Puritanism has brought to bear on English politics. We have not time even for a fragmentary analysis of those influences, but it is especially important that in considering the career and character of John Bright they should be had in remembrance. Upon him the Puritan mantle has descended, and he is the best exponent of the principle and the spirit which animated his political forefathers, whom it has been given to us to know in this generation.

Born in the year 1811, in the house of his father Jacob Bright, of Greenbank, Rochdale, the future politician found himself early surrounded by grave political portents. Long before he could read their meaning, they presented stern problems to the people of the district in which he was born and bred, and there were not a few events of historical importance which transpired there during his boyhood, to leave without doubt a deep impression on his mind. It will be necessary to go back for a time in order to realise the political situation. In 1785 Mr. Pitt, who was at that time Prime Minister, made his final attempt at representative reform. That effort—which, so far as Pitt was concerned, seems to have been very laxly and lazily made—failed; and the French Revolution, which followed close upon its heels, introduced a stubborn obstacle, whilst it increased the desire of the unenfranchised masses. At that Revolution, and at the principles to which it gave birth, the feelings of the responsible, respectable land-owning classes naturally took alarm; whilst, with equal naturalness, the masses of the people were deeply stirred by the new hopes of political and social freedom for Europe which so flattered them. In 1793 the question of Parliamentary reform was raised. The people were persistent and eager in their claims; the responsible classes were peremptory in their denial, and fierce in their proclamations of imaginary consequences. Petitions were got up by the people only to be rejected by the members of the “popular” House, and the passion of demand and refusal plunged the land into alternate fever and ague. So things went on until the year in which John Bright was born, and for many years afterwards. The poor starving colliers in Bilston, in those days, looked on a political economy (whose rights and wrongs were altogether beyond their comprehension) as dark and melancholy as their native landscape. There is little of dread about the notion these wretched people conceived at that time—unless it be the thought of the extremity of their wretchedness, and the pathos of their simplicity. Indeed nothing seems more natural than their simple fancy. The King could do no wrong. He was the father of his people. It seemed right and just to them that they should seek their poor claim for food and shelter at his hands. So they resolve that they will go—a small body of them—to Carlton House, with two carts of coal for a burnt-offering, and will speak before the Regent, who is now virtual King. At this the stupidities and injustices of England took fright, and when that pathetic, simple-minded, sorrowful project was succeeded by the movement of the “Blanketeers” of Manchester, the fright redoubled. These things came to pass when John Bright was eight years old, but he would hear of them then in his father's Quaker household, and for many and many a day afterwards, and he hid them in his heart. Two years afterwards, at Manchester, came the great meeting over which Orator Hunt presided, and whose aim and object was the repeal of the Corn Laws; and closely following

this came the formation of a female Reform Society at Blackburn, for the avowed purpose of instilling into the minds of the rising generation a "deep-rooted hatred of our tyrannical rulers." In the same year a meeting was held at Birmingham to elect two "legislatorial attorneys and representatives" of the town. Of these Sir Charles Wolsley was one, and he not only accepted the office thus unconstitutionally offered, but promised to claim a seat in the House of Commons. He was arrested in his own house at Knutsford; and the popular clamour grew every day more fierce. At last came what was everywhere regarded as the crisis of the struggle. A meeting was called in Manchester to choose a representative after the example just set by Birmingham, but the authorities declared the meeting and its purpose illegal, and determined that it should be dispersed if its promoters persisted in holding it. Orator Hunt, with a wisdom and moderation which do him credit, lent all the weight of his influence to dissuade the Manchester reformers from the prosecution of this scheme. His advice was taken, but it was decided to hold a monster meeting to petition Parliament. The people marched on the appointed day—the 16th of August—to the place of meeting, the site of the present Manchester Free Trade Hall. St. Peter's Church stood close by, and afterwards gave its name to an event as shameful and as foolish as any in our annals—the so-called "Peterloo Massacre." There were 80,000 people present, many of whom were women. There is no attempt now made (and for years there has been no such attempt) to argue that the meeting was disorderly or dangerous; but the police and yeomanry fell upon the gathering, arrested Hunt, who was chairman, and made a riot out of peaceable materials. The people were not disposed to fight, and it is on all hands allowed that the action of the authorities was dictated by a sort of hysterical and needless defiance.

But, whilst England was thus distracted by the councils of unwisdom, Daniel O'Connell was preaching his own peculiar edition of the Gospel of Liberty in Ireland, and the excitable Celt gave signs of becoming even more troublesome than his sterner but more patient fellow-sufferer. The extreme sense of uneasiness which the Irish attitude induced served indeed to bring about a speedy remedy. There came at length to be no choice between civil war and concession; and Mr. Peel, in whose hands the leadership of the House of Commons then lay, wisely decided on the latter. He advised with the Duke of Wellington, who reluctantly gave way. The Crown acceded still more unwillingly; but at length a measure of Catholic Emancipation was really passed with extreme haste through both Houses, and received the assent of the Throne.

Though he was not then of age, John Bright made his first entry into political life in 1831, when he took a part in the Reform agitation which disturbed the country during that and the succeeding year. It was here that he first made practical acquaintance with a truth which he afterwards with some quaintness expressed in the House of Commons. Speaking on the affairs of Ireland, on the evening of the 13th March, 1868, he said, "It is said by eminent censors of the press that this debate will yield about thirty hours of talk, and will then end in no result. I have observed that all great questions in this country require thirty hours' talk many times repeated before they are settled. There is much shower and sunshine between the sowing of the seed and the reaping of the harvest, but the harvest is reaped after all." There are few sentences in the recorded speeches of John Bright which more fully express his character than these. The determination and the patience which have always marked his character and his counsels are alike present. But it is recorded of him that in these earlier days he gave no especial promise of his future greatness, and that his first public appearances were rather disappointing to those with whom he was associated. He made his first mark in public life by joining, as one of its earliest members, the Anti-Corn-Law League formed in 1838. This League is memorable

on many grounds. It forms a sort of modern and unwritten Magna Charta. There was no formal parchment subscribed with a long list of noble names; but from it, none the less, the people of England date the possession of one more great peaceful right. The Anti-Corn-Law League established once and for ever the inalienable right of the people of this Empire to combine openly, and without fear of molestation, for the furtherance of social and political ends. It was during his early connection with this movement that John Bright first became publicly associated with Richard Cobden. The private friendship which sprung up between them had its origin in the same cause. Bright and Cobden first met when the former one day walked into Alderman Cobden's office in Manchester, and asked the popular leader of public opinion to address an Educational Meeting at Rochdale. Mr. Cobden consented, and fulfilled his promise. He spoke with his usual effect, and in due time he listened. John Bright was one of the speakers of the evening, and Cobden was so struck with him that he asked him to appear as often as possible at meetings in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws. The League for that purpose was not yet formed, but public opinion was rapidly becoming educated to the necessary point. In the month of October, 1838, that enormous association had its small and unpromising beginning. W. A. Cunningham, Andrew Dalzell, James Leslie, Archibald Prentis, and Philip Thompson, Scotchmen who had settled in Manchester, met there in a small room with William Rawson, a native of the town, and there the seven resolved to start an Anti-Corn-Law Association. In the advertisement columns of the Manchester papers of the 12th October, 1838, appeared a list of the members of the provisional committee of the newly formed society. The second name in that list was that of John Bright. Public feeling was ripe for the movement, and before many weeks were over a sum of £11,000 was raised, and lecturers of ability and standing were engaged to advocate the scheme of the League throughout the country. Through all the work which ensued, Richard Cobden and John Bright worked side by side. It may be fearlessly said that there was never a friendship more devoted than that which subsisted between these two for so many years, and terminated only with the death of the elder. There was never a scene more profoundly affecting witnessed in the House of Commons than when, after Cobden's death, his colleague and friend attempted to speak of their friendship and of the dead man's virtues. He spoke of him as the manliest and greatest spirit that ever tenanted human form, and quite broke down as he said—"After twenty years of most intimate and almost brotherly friendship with him, I little knew how much I loved him until I found that I had lost him." So long as the history of this era is remembered, those words will have their silent solemn *Siste viator* to the student of English politics.

The first great act of friendship which Cobden performed towards his young colleague was of a very remarkable character. In 1841, at the age of thirty, Mr. Bright lost his wife, and in the hour of his grief Cobden found him at Leamington and said, "Come with me, and we will never rest until we have repealed the Corn Laws." Wisdom could have found no fitter cure for grief. Bright went forth with his friend and leader—

"And so, self-girded with torn strips of hope,
Took up his life as if it were for death—
Just capable of one heroic aim—
And threw it in the middle of the world!"

The "thirty hours' talk" was very many times repeated before the Corn Laws were repealed. In the earlier part of the struggle appeared the "Corn Law Rhymes" of Ebenezer Elliot. It

is perhaps impossible to present a better picture of the feeling of the agitators towards the protectionist party than is given in the following lines :—

“These, O ye quacks! these are your remedies :
 Alms for the Rich, a bread-tax for the Poor!
 Soul-purchased harvests on the indigent moor!—
 Thus the winged victor of a hundred fights,
 The warrior-ship, bows low her bannered head
 When through her planks the seaborne reptile bites
 Its deadly way—and sinks in ocean’s bed,
 Vanquished by worms! What then? The worms were fed!

* * * * *

Shall not God smite thee black, thou whited wall?”

That is an echo of the terrible popular English *Ca Ira* of those days—a sort of national song which is now happily for ever abandoned in England.

Through these troublous times, John Bright at the side of his great colleague worked steadfastly through evil report and good report—not greatly moved, as it would seem, by either—until at length the first great object of his public life was gained, and Protection—a Giant Despair to the English people—was slain. In 1843 he unsuccessfully contested Durham, but in less than four months after the date of the conflict the seat again fell vacant. He renewed his addresses, and was triumphantly returned. His maiden speech was made almost immediately on his entry into Parliament, and was called forth by the presentation of Mr. Ewart’s motion for the extension of the principle of Free Trade, on the 7th August, 1843. It has been remarked that his earlier speeches in the House were remarkable for the absence of that peculiar faculty of adaptation to his audience which is now so noticeable a feature in his oratory. But this is not at all a thing to be wondered at. Mr. Bright’s work in the House of Commons was not altogether of a conciliatory cast. He has not, even in later days than those we have yet arrived at, hesitated to express opinions of the House itself, and of its constituent members, which could scarcely be accepted as complimentary. But he has always known how to extend the noblest courtesy to a political opponent, and his career affords one or two notable proofs of this. His defence of Sir Robert Peel was in his finest vein. He has not that mastery of bitter invective which is found in Mr. Disraeli; but he has a weighty and solemn earnestness of rebuke, which is quite as much dreaded, and as effective.

In 1847 he left Durham for Manchester, and was returned to the House without opposition. He continued to represent the cotton metropolis for ten years, and during that time made some of his most brilliant efforts. He pleaded powerfully but unavailingly for the application of the principle of Free Trade in land for the relief of the Irish famine; and appealed, also unsuccessfully, for the dispatch of a Royal Commission to inquire into the affairs of India. The mastery over the intricate and involved business of our great Eastern Empire, with which he is now credited, was then first displayed. In 1849 he was appointed a member of that celebrated committee which was entrusted with the inquiry into the question of official salaries; and he worked eagerly with Cobden in pursuit of a financial Reform which had relation mainly to the reduction of the army and navy estimates. In 1851 he joined in the attempted vote of censure against Lord Palmerston for his conduct in the affair of Don Pacifico; and in the following year, when the great Hungarian patriot Kossuth visited England, John Bright, as might have been expected, was one of the warmest and most prominent amongst those who welcomed him.

On the formation of the first Derby Ministry, the conduct of the Government rendered necessary a temporary reorganisation of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and to this end Mr. Bright laboured very earnestly. In 1852 he was re-elected for Manchester, after a contest; and during this, the second period of his representation of that city, occurred the events which may be looked upon as the most important of his political life. "The sick man" sat insecurely in his dominions, and Russia was more than suspected of a desire to annex the Ottoman Empire. England and France had entered into a treaty with the Turk; and he, emboldened by the support of his influential backers, refused the terms proposed on behalf of Russia by Prince Menschikoff. The famous Vienna Note, drawn up by the ambassadors of England, France, Austria, and Prussia, and accepted for the Russian Government by Count Nesselrode, was also refused by the Sultan, and it was largely on this fact that Mr. Bright based his arguments against the war upon which it was proposed to enter. Those arguments, cogent and forcible as they were, and presented with all the charm with which eloquence and earnestness could invest them, were disregarded, and the war was entered upon. There can be no doubt that the general feeling of the public was greatly in favour of the conduct of the Government; and however the instinct which led the nations into that useless conflict may have been mistaken, there lay at the bottom of the national feeling one of the sentiments which have made England noble. It is a national characteristic to take side with the weaker party, and all England was aflame with a desire to defend the Turks and to check the rapacity of Russia. Setting himself in opposition as he did to this national feeling, Mr. Bright alienated himself from many friends. For a long time he stood in a marked minority. But his minority has changed with the slow process of thoughtful years into a majority, and the wisdom of the solitary course he took is now as generally acknowledged as it was once unseen. In the course of that almost lonely championship of Peace, he delivered the most magnificent of all his orations. The theme was great, and he rose to its supremest height. Even in a House where he stood amongst a minority numerically insignificant, and at a time when the war-fever was at its height, his words were heard with no common emotion. In that sublime passage which has been so frequently quoted he touched the very height of eloquence. "The Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the very beating of his wings. There is no one to sprinkle with blood the lintel and the sideposts of our doors, that he may spare and pass on; but he calls at the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, equally as at the cottage of the humble; and it is on behalf of all these classes that I make this solemn appeal." His statement that the war "could not be justified out of the documents" laid before the House was followed by the memorable prophecy, "Impartial history will teach this to posterity, if we do not understand it now."

In the matter of the Factory Act, in which he also stood in opposition to the national will, his triumph has not been so signal. Mr. Bright's opposition to the Factory Act was based on the belief that Legislative interference between capital and labour is not a desirable thing, and though the measure he thus opposed has effected great good, there is no doubt that it brought with it some drawbacks which he very clearly foresaw and foretold. The absurdity of supposing that he who had spent his whole life in the cause of the people should here turn against them, and belie himself for the sake of self-interest, was too complete and palpable for the suspicion to endure long.

In March, 1857, news reached him of the defeat of Palmerston upon the Canton question. His health at this time had completely broken down under the strain of constant work, and he was in Italy seeking rest and strength. Under these circumstances, of course, he could take

no part in the vote of censure proposed against Palmerston by Cobden, and seconded by Mr. Milner Gibson; but he expressed his entire concurrence in the motion. As the result of this, and of his opposition to the Crimean War, both he and his colleague Mr. Gibson were rejected by Manchester at the next election, by large majorities. But he was too great a power long to be absent from the House of Commons. A little later, the death of Mr. Muntz, one of the members for Birmingham, left a seat vacant; and in the August of 1867 the Tribune of the People resumed his seat. He has held that seat ever since, and is fixed there, so long as he lives and chooses to remain in Parliament, beyond all chance of opposition. The affectionate and confident honour in which he is held has been nowhere more strikingly displayed, than in the patience with which a town so politically busy and prominent as Birmingham has borne his long and enforced absence from his place. When he expressed his willingness to retire, at a time when there seemed no prospect of an immediate recovery from the illness which had again prostrated him, the reply from his constituents was a decided negative. But before this came to pass he had done much hard work in the advocacy of Parliamentary Reform, in the fight for the amendment of the law of entail, and above all in the advocacy of the cause of humanity, and the North, in the unhappy civil war in America. The oration in which on the 30th of June, 1863, he attacked Mr. Roebuck's proposal for the recognition of the rebellious States by the English Government, takes rank as a masterpiece of logic, reason, and eloquence. A large proportion of the English nation went with their chosen leader on this question from the first; but when President Lincoln announced distinctly the determination to rid America of the great blot of slavery, Mr. Bright's following was enormously increased.

In 1866, when Mr. Gladstone introduced the Reform Bill which was wrecked by the action of the Adullamites, Mr. Bright was everywhere recognised as the leader of the Reform League. During the existence of that League, a meeting was held at St. James's Hall, at which Mr. Bright was present, and at which, on the motion for a vote of thanks to the chairman, he expressed his dissent from the attack made upon the Queen by one of the speakers of the evening; and did so with a grace and feeling peculiarly his own. "I am not accustomed," he said, "to stand up for those who are possessors of crowns. But I think there has been, by many persons, a great injustice done to the Queen, in reference to her desolate and widowed position. And I venture to say this, that a woman, be she the Queen of a great realm or the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and her affections, is not at all likely to be wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you."

Mr. Bright's most convincing proofs of statesmanship have been given in connection with the discussion of Indian questions, in the complete grasp of which he stands confessedly unrivalled. When, after the passing of the Reform Bill by Mr. Disraeli and his party, the Liberals returned to power, Mr. Gladstone offered to his distinguished supporter the office of Secretary of State for India. This Mr. Bright was compelled to decline, though with what reluctance he retired from such an opportunity for the benefit of humanity may be readily imagined. The office of President of the Board of Trade he accepted with considerable reluctance, and it was not long before the gloomy forebodings, which may be traced in the speech delivered at Birmingham when he presented himself for re-election, were fulfilled.

Towards the close of the last session of Mr. Gladstone's Parliament, the manifold defections from the Liberal ranks became apparent, and Mr. Bright's return to his place in the House was looked for by a section of the public as the only possible means of restoring the public enthusiasm

for a Ministry which had done too much. When the great meeting was held at Bingley Hall, in Birmingham, in November, 1873, and Mr. Bright's definite opinion on the 25th clause of the Educational Act was heard, there were many who went away with the belief that he had by his speech of that evening turned the tide of the Conservative reaction. The meeting, though it disappointed the hopes of the Midland Liberals in respect to its result, was in every way noticeable. The enormous auditory—variously estimated at from 15,000 to 25,000—received the now white-haired political warrior with indescribable enthusiasm; and it was not difficult to trace in the countenance and bearing of the hero of the hour, the feelings which almost mastered him when he rose. But he had not gone far before it was clearly seen that, despite the whitened hairs and the weakened frame, the tried and trusty leader was back among his own people with much of his old fire and grace of eloquence, and an added wisdom of foresight, and of moderation.

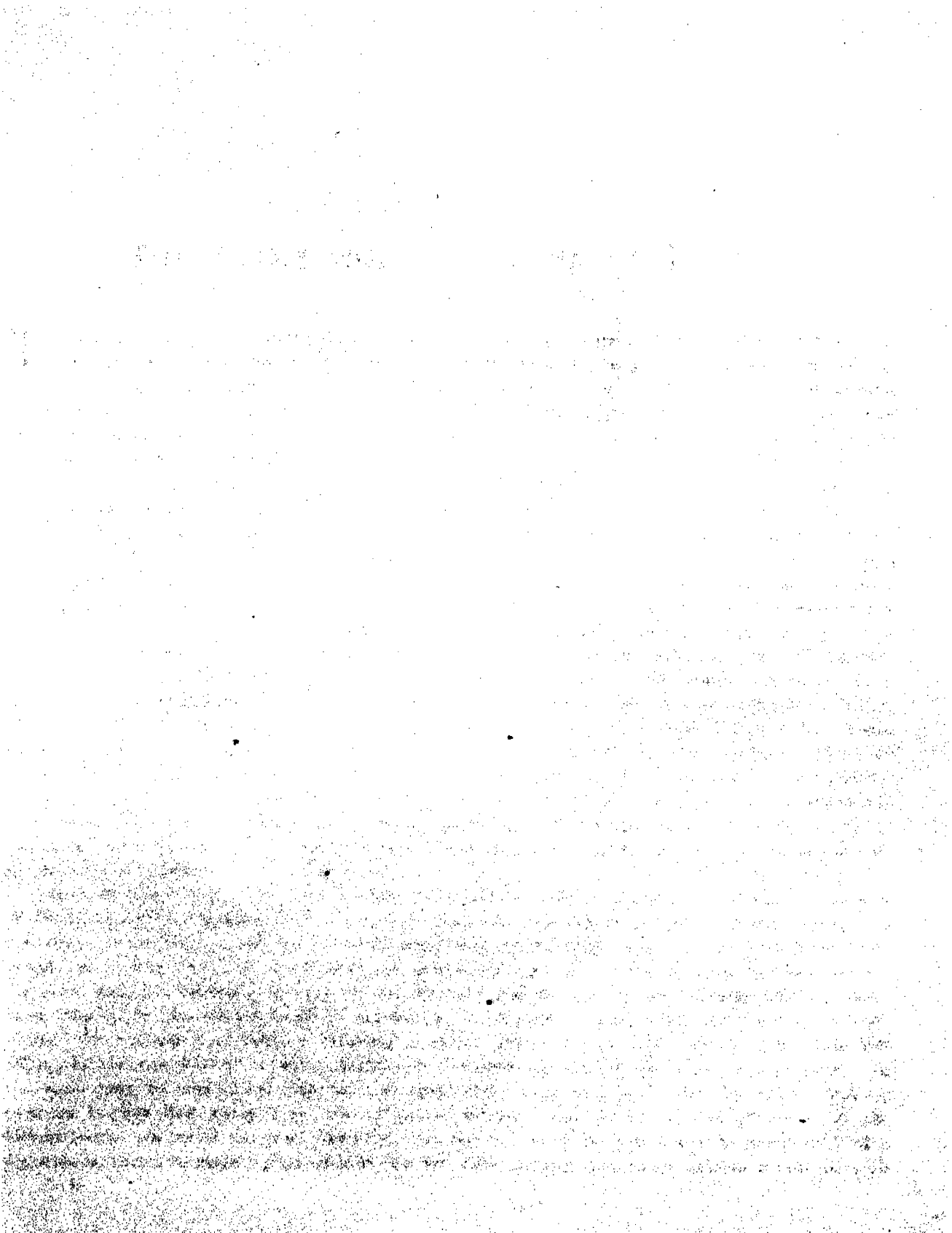
Mr. Bright's manner as a public speaker is at once of the highest order and perfect of its kind. He has nothing which can be strictly marked as a mannerism. His gestures are few, but free, inspired, and weighty. His voice, now losing somewhat of its clearness, was in earlier days singularly sympathetic and resonant. It had that indescribable quality which belongs only to the voice of the born orator, and which, though the speaker himself be unconscious of it, expresses in the wide range of its modulations the whole gamut of feeling and of sentiment. It is well said that at times when he has spoken there have seemed "tears in his voice." In the enunciation of a humorous hit or a happy bit of characterisation his voice partakes of the feeling of his sentence, not ostentatiously or with a sense of effort, but as it were without the speaker's knowledge. In passages of a hortatory nature it has a solidity and solemnity peculiarly its own. The progression of his sentences is rhythmic, sonorous, and majestic. He is a master of English idiom, and his diction is as pure as his political character. His knowledge of English literature is varied and profound, and his style is largely influenced by his familiarity with the nervous and beautiful English of the Scriptures. He has made no formal pretensions to the character of a wit, as many men far less distinguished in that way than he have done, but he has a fine vein of comic and satiric humour. His primal application of the now proverbial phrase about the Cave of Adullam; his allusion, in a speech in the House of Commons on the Irish Church resolutions, to a mountebank who was *not* a Cabinet Minister; his description of the newly formed Ministry as "the Derby Minstrels," and a score of other instances will immediately recommend themselves to the memory of the habitual readers of his speeches.

John Bright has now passed the first posting station on the way to old age. The dislike and dread with which he was once regarded have now almost completely disappeared. There are many to whom neither his policy nor his method of advocating it has been acceptable. The *brusquerie* of occasional utterances has given offence, sometimes even to his friends. But he has done a great work, and has earned a great place in the affections of the English people. And the work has been of such a cast, and has been performed under difficulties of such a nature, that it would have been perhaps impossible to conduct it with less offence. It has been conducted always honourably, and from the beginning to the end "Samson has quit himself like Samson"—somewhat roughly at times—but always in a strong, manful, English way.

[The Portrait is from a Photograph taken by Mr. Rupert Potter, an amateur photographer, and a friend of Mr. Bright.]



Gen. ated. service
Derby



THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY.

THERE are but few men who fill the place left vacant by a great father. The very traditions of the greatness of the forerunner often act as most dangerous rivals to the fame of the successor. The present Earl of Derby, however, affords a brilliant exception to the rule against hereditary possession of great intellectual powers. There is certainly no other noble name associated with the political history of this century, the memory of whose last owner is so well preserved by the man who bears it now. But the nature of the fame which the son has earned for himself is widely different from that which invested the father. The genius of the late Earl was sparkling, vivacious, and erratic, whilst the characteristics of the present leader of the Conservative party are all marked by a cautious and careful solidity. The genius of the present Earl is that of common sense. The effect which party bias would appear to have had upon the political scheme of things which he has formed for himself is singularly small. He can in no wise be regarded as a partisan. His public manner is very indicative of his mental formation. He has neither the impetuosity nor the nameless charm by which his father's periods were alternately distinguished, and by which for the moment the "Rupert of debate" either fascinated or overbore his opponents. His matter and his manner are alike weighty. He affects none of the graces of the orator, but speaks in a strong, plain, straightforward way, which conveys the impression of habitual intensity of belief. His sympathies are very wide, and he is probably the most Liberal Conservative now in the House of Peers. He is Conservative by reason of the characteristic weightiness of his intellect. His wide sympathies carry him in another direction. He reviews public questions on their merits, putting them aside as far as practicable from the influences of party opinion, and his Conservatism has often been very like a chastened and cautious Liberalism. His career has been almost a series of successes, and the reverses and failures which attend on public men appear, as by common consent, to have avoided him.

Born at Knowsley on the 21st of July, 1826, Edward Henry Stanley, eldest son of the Earl of Derby (then Mr. Stanley), had before him from the first the chances of a proud career. He was sent early to Rugby, and thence to Trinity College, Cambridge, where at the age of two-and-twenty he took a first class in classics, and gained, among other prizes, a medal for declamation. On some men the necessity of work is strongly laid, and it was laid all the more strongly upon Lord Stanley by the claims so finely summed up in the aristocratic, great old proverb, *Noblesse oblige*. He permitted no delay in entering upon the public service. In the year in which he left college he made an attempt to enter Parliament, but was rejected by the voters of Lancaster. In the same year he crossed the Atlantic and spent some time in Canada and the States, making personal inquiry into many questions of public interest, and paying special attention to the Governmental scheme of the great Republic. On his way home he paid a visit to our West Indian possessions, where he made a close examination into several most important matters connected with

the prosperity of the Sugar Colonies. During his absence from England an event occurred which exercised a great influence over his career, and which left the Conservative party in the Lower House without a leader. The sudden and melancholy death of Lord George Bentinck left the representation of Lynn Regis vacant, and Lord Stanley, still absent from England, and not even aware of this unsought success, was elected to supply his place. His first speech of importance in the House related to the question into which he had so closely inquired in the West Indies. There is reason for supposing that at this very early stage of his Parliamentary career Lord Stanley was distrustful of his own powers as a speaker. He published upon the question of the Sugar Colonies two pamphlets, each in the form of a letter to Mr. Gladstone, giving, as one of the reasons which had actuated him in choosing this mode of expression for his opinions, the belief that the House might not be disposed to listen with patience to so long a speech as would be necessary for the full ventilation of the facts he had gathered, and of the opinions he had formed upon them. Another reason—which is not based upon so strangely modest an estimate of his own abilities—is that, since his arguments consisted largely of figures, it seemed right to him to present them in a form in which they were open to the closest examination. That Lord Stanley himself attached a deep importance to the question, is evident from the tenor of the two pamphlets—which were respectively entitled “Claims and Resources of the West Indian Colonies,” and “Further Facts connected with the West Indies.” He asked, on behalf of the West Indian planters, for a repeal of the export duties, and drew a dark picture of the existing condition of the Islands. He gave it as his opinion that the question involved “not merely the prosperity of nineteen colonies, not alone the welfare of the African race throughout the world, not the mere increase of a failing revenue, and the rescue from ruin of a great commercial interest; but the station and character of England among the nations of the world, the consistency of the Imperial legislators, and the honour of the British Crown.” It was regarded as somewhat singular that the subject in which Lord Stanley took so much interest was one in the consideration of which Lord George Bentinck was deeply engaged for some time before his death, so that the Sugar Colonies appeared to have some successive claim upon the representative of Lynn Regis.

But a question upon which Lord Stanley was destined to make a far more decided mark, was that involving the right government of our possessions in the East Indies. To the consideration of that subject the minds of all thinking men were being drawn, and it became almost daily more and more apparent that some change must be made in the method of our government of the Indian Empire. Until 1814 the East India Company held the whole trade of that vast empire as a strict monopoly. During the existence of that monopoly the commercial resources of the country lay undeveloped, because the country itself was allowed to remain unopened by road or canal. The splendid facilities presented for the growth of cotton on those large and fertile tracts of country, which were cultivated but sparsely, were completely neglected. Not only was this the case, but even that portion of the land which was made valuable was deprived of its value to the natives, by the unscrupulous action of members of the Company, and by the unjustifiable proceedings of the Company itself. Mr. Richards, a member of Council, stated before the Court of Directors in the year 1812 that the cotton produce of whole districts was removed without sparing any part of the admitted share of the ryots, and that the owners were not even allowed to know what they should receive for the produce of their land and their labour, until that produce had been utterly removed from their reach. In 1832, Mr. Warden, another member of Council, gave it in evidence that the tax levied upon Surat

cotton was so heavy that it left the grower less than three-farthings per pound. In 1846 a committee appointed in Bombay announced, as one of the results of its inquiries, that for every candy (784 lb.) costing 80 rupees in Bombay, the Government had exacted as land-tax and reu-duty 48 rupees, leaving less than three-farthings per pound for division among all concerned, from the merchant at Bombay to the cultivator at Surat. The question attracted the attention of Mr. Bright, among others, and he in the year 1847 moved for and obtained a Committee of Inquiry. Very extensive evidence was given, and most of it was strongly condemnatory of the system of the Indian Government. No active result being arrived at through that inquiry, Mr. Bright in 1850 moved that a Royal Commission should proceed to India, to report upon any circumstance which might injuriously affect the economical and industrial condition of the native population. This proposal was opposed by the President of the India Board, and refused by the House. But abortive in other respects as these efforts were, they moved Lord Stanley to the consideration of the great Eastern question; and with a desire to see and examine things for himself, and to form his opinions on so important a subject on a sound basis, he set out for India, and there made himself acquainted with those vexed and difficult problems which were afterwards partially solved by him in his India Bill of 1858. He returned with very decided opinions upon our Indian administrative policy, and in the following year he attempted, but unsuccessfully, to impress those opinions upon the House.

During his absence in the East another unexpected and unsought honour befell him. Lord John Russell had sustained a defeat on the question of the National Defences, and had retired from office. He had forborne to advise Her Majesty to a dissolution, and, as a natural consequence of this condition of affairs, the late Earl Derby came, for the first time, to the leadership of his party. He conferred upon his son the office of Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a position in which, it might be reasonably argued, a politician of so much promise and activity would acquire a great and useful insight into the conduct of public business. Earl Derby's Government was exceedingly short-lived, and Lord Stanley's chances of advantage were all the less on account of the fact that the Great Exhibition almost entirely absorbed public interest during that year. The attention demanded by the great palace of glass and its contents, and by the ceaseless flow of foreign visitors it brought to our shores, left the session in point of fact almost barren of legislative achievement, and in the autumn Parliament was prorogued. Prorogation was followed by dissolution. But the appeal to the country was not productive of the results its promoters had anticipated, and the Government was left in a hopeless minority. It fell, whilst the first session was still young, before Mr. Gladstone's vehement attack on the Budget presented by Mr. Disraeli; and the guidance of the affairs of the nation lapsed into the hands of Lord Aberdeen. Under the auspices of that "Ministry of all the talents" known to history as the Coalition Government, an attempt was made to legislate for the growing necessities of the Indian Empire. A measure which many politicians at the time condemned as utterly inefficient, and which was proved by subsequent events to be worthy of no higher description, was introduced. Lord Stanley was one of the first to complain of the inadequate nature of the Bill. In the course of a remarkable speech he laid before the House a proposal embodying many of the features of the Indian Bill on which so large a portion of his fame now rests, and supported it by logic so clear and argument so convincing, that it now appears a matter for surprise that his scheme was not at once adopted. Whether its adoption would, as some have ventured to believe, have prevented that lamentable outbreak of fanaticism, patriotism, and barbaric cruelty called the Indian Mutiny, it would now be altogether vain to speculate.

The Indian Government of the day was blind to the dangers that encompassed it. The English public was too far away to know much or care greatly about Indian affairs. "That which is nearest touches us most," and that volcanic outbreak of tropical rage had not yet brought the affairs of the Indian Empire near enough to us for their effect to be anything like so absorbing in interest as the discussion of the most trifling home business. But the days of the Coalition Government, based as that Coalition was on a crude and unsatisfactory compromise, were not the days for strong legislative measures on any point, and the inefficient but plausible Bill of the Ministry was accordingly preferred to the wise and vigorous policy indicated by Lord Stanley. The Ministerial measure was introduced by Sir Charles Wood in a speech five hours in length, and chiefly filled with praise of the East India Company. Four years afterwards, as a comment upon the perfections so belauded, came the Indian Mutiny.

In the year 1855, Lord Palmerston was in power, and the death of Sir William Molesworth leaving vacant a place in the Colonial Office, the Whig chieftain—a rare judge of men, and always ready to acknowledge merit—offered the post thus left empty to Lord Stanley. He, however, remained true to his party, and declined the offer. Three years passed by before another chance of holding office presented itself, and then the reins of power falling once more into the hands of the Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley was made Secretary of State for India, with a seat in the Cabinet. The appointment gave very general satisfaction, and his Lordship's special ability to treat with the problems likely to be brought under his notice in this capacity was generally admitted. The Derby Cabinet of '58—59 presented one feature of signal interest. For nearly three centuries in English history, there had been no Cabinet in which a father and son had sat together; the last such instance was in the days of good Queen Bess, when the retirement of Secretary Walsingham left a vacancy in the Council led by Lord Burleigh of head-shaking fame, which vacancy was filled by Lord Burleigh's son, the youthful and accomplished Lord Cecil. It was everywhere admitted that in the modern instance the choice of a Minister was no result of a mere fatherly partiality, but that a man had been chosen who was as well fitted as any in the Conservative ranks to fulfil the duties of the office. During his period of office Lord Stanley introduced, in a form somewhat changed and modified, the measure he had laid before the House five years earlier. Mr. Disraeli and Lord Palmerston had each attempted to bring forward a Bill dealing with the requirements of India, but neither of these had reached to a second reading. But the Mutiny, trodden down only within the last few months at a tremendous expenditure of blood and of treasure, had opened the eyes of the English people to the imperious necessity for some broad enactment. The Bill introduced by Lord Stanley was the wisest and the widest which could at that time have been passed, but it is very improbable that it exhausted his Lordship's ideas of Indian Reform. Great questions of this kind always require time to ripen, and it is not impossible or unlikely that now, when a larger power than he then possessed has fallen into his hands, when the public feeling has grown calm and the public mind enlightened, and when there are no especially urgent home topics to attract his exclusive attention, he may renew the work which he then so well began, and may leave behind him, in a more perfect scheme of government for our Empire in the East, a lasting monument to his own abilities as a statesman. The measure introduced by Lord Stanley, and passed by both Houses, effected a transfer of power from the hands of the East India Company to those of the Imperial Legislature. It also established a new Council—a board of fifteen, seven of whom were chosen by the Company and eight by the Crown; the whole being presided over by Her Majesty's Chief of the Department.

In 1859 the Earl of Derby was again driven from office, and Lord Stanley, with the other

members of his party, was once more seated on the Opposition benches. Nothing of any special interest occurred during the time which followed, that immediately connects itself with his career. It was not until 1866 that he returned to office, when he held, still under the Earl his father, the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. But in the interim matters in the United States had arrived at a most formidable crisis. That tremendous disruption between North and South, which Europe stood still to watch, was fraught with a dangerous interest to England. The fact that the *Alabama* was built with English money, fitted in an English port, and manned with English seamen, assumed a yet unhappier complexion from the tone taken, earlier in the struggle, by the British Government with respect to the seizure of the two Southern envoys on board the British ship, the *Trent*. It was not denied that Messrs. Slidell and Mason were emissaries of the South; but the North repudiated the action of the officer who arrested them whilst under the British flag, as soon as the fact came to the knowledge of its Government. The tone taken by the English Ministry was however unnecessarily harsh and threatening—or, at least, appeared very decidedly so to the minds of people in the States; and the misadventure by which the *Alabama* was allowed to start upon her illegal voyage, was magnified into an evidence of active hostility on the part of the British Government towards the North. The equally unfortunate haste which would not allow our Government to await the arrival of Mr. Adams, the newly appointed representative of America to England, before its recognition of the South as a belligerent Power, and its proclamation of British neutrality, also told largely against us in the American mind. The national mind on this side the Atlantic was much excited. It has often been remarked that people are apt to see their own side of a case very big, and their opponents' very little. The affair of the *Trent* was regarded as a national insult—that of the *Alabama* as a merely unfortunate circumstance. It was the continual prayer of a certain saint of the Middle Ages, that he might always see to-day with the eyes of to-morrow. This is the prerogative and birthright only of the wise. Amongst those who had the calmness, the self-control, and the wisdom to view these incidents with the eyes of the future, was Lord Stanley; and one of the greatest in the ranks of his opponents did him the honour and the justice, whilst the riot of public feeling was at its highest, to speak of him in these memorable words: “Lord Stanley, only a fortnight ago, I think, made a speech which it is impossible to read without remarking the thought, the liberality, and the wisdom by which it is distinguished.” In the course of the speech thus generously characterised by Mr. Bright, Lord Stanley advised the people of England to be calm and moderate, and to avoid as far as possible that feeling of irritation which at such times naturally arises, and is occasionally dangerous. When the great civil war was over, and the heated feeling of partisanship it had excited in this country was at an end, Lord Stanley was amongst those who could, with the widest charity of feeling, allow for the heat of American expression with respect to the actions of the *Alabama*. He was amongst the first to recognise the value of an international arbitration in the case, and though the result was at first scarcely palatable to the English people, it has already come to be universally admitted that the course adopted was the only one which could have been taken with any semblance of wisdom. It set an example which it well became the greatest and most Christian of empires to lay before the world, and it has at least left the world one step nearer to that great time—so ardently desired and so long deferred—when the nations shall learn war no more.

England was terribly punished for the carelessness with which she had allowed her splendid Indian resources to be neglected, and the Lancashire Cotton Famine was not the least severe of her punishments. The noble fortitude with which the people who were the immediate sufferers in

this case endured their privations, will always be remembered by Englishmen with pride, nor will the benevolence and the wisdom of many among our foremost men, who both by the free use of their purse and the gift of their counsel assisted them in their strait, be readily forgotten. Lord Stanley took a generous part in the public action on this matter, and from the time of the Cotton Famine may be fairly dated the more advanced growth of that confidence of esteem and regard which is now extended to him from almost all quarters of public opinion.

The wide toleration he has always exhibited for variations of political opinion has already been remarked upon. In 1853 he placed himself side by side with the more Liberal thinkers of the time, in his condemnation of Church Rates, and he advocated the complete abolition of that tax upon Dissent both in and out of the House. In the course of that year he published a pamphlet entitled "The Church Rate Question Considered," in which the claims of Dissent to be freed from all compulsory support of the Establishment were very fairly and clearly urged. Coming from such a quarter, this brochure earned for Lord Stanley the highest regard of the Dissenters of England. The manner in which the argument was conducted was most impartial and judicial. There had been, years before, a great deal of heated debate between the champions of either side upon this and cognate topics; and though the spectacle of a Conservative, a nobleman, and a Churchman appearing as a champion of the oppressed was not altogether unique, it was still sufficiently new to attract a great deal of public attention; whilst the candour, the logical acumen, and the judicial fairness with which his share of the discussion was conducted, were sufficiently novel to make them appear more than commonly admirable. Lord Stanley gave further proof of the liberality of his creed, by the unvarying consistency with which he voted for the annual grant to Maynooth.

A singular and interesting scene took place during his earlier connection with the House of Commons, which may in many cases be forgotten, and which is at least old enough by this time to bear re-telling. It serves as an illustration of the condition of public feeling at the time, and it relates to a question upon which, until it was at last set at rest for ever, Lord Stanley always voted with the most advanced and the most truly Liberal thinkers of the House. A Bill for the admission of Jews into Parliament had been introduced into the House, had passed its second reading by a majority of twenty-five, and its third without opposition. It was rejected by the Lords, who brought a majority of thirty-six against it. The Bill was one of the hardy annual class, and was certain to be brought forward again; but everybody, until the election of Mr. Salomons for Greenwich, supposed the question to have been disposed of for that session. But the return of Mr. Salomons, a member of the Hebrew Church, reopened the debate in a very lively manner indeed. In taking the oath that gentleman of course omitted the words "on the true faith of a Christian." He was told that he could not legally sit in the House, but he nevertheless took his place. He was ordered to withdraw and did so, but three evenings later again presented himself. An excited debate was held on the question of his presence, and he himself delivered a speech marked by great modesty, manliness, and self-possession. He was however ultimately led out by the Sergeant-at-Arms. No occurrence of this kind can again display our national lack of toleration, but it is well to refer to the old condition of things occasionally and in season, that we may know, or that we may not forget, our own favoured estate in these later days. Against the Jewish Disabilities Bill, Lord Stanley continually voted, until at length it was repealed.

The third and last Ministry formed by the late Earl of Derby again brought Lord Stanley into office, and it was in the position to which he then attained that he made the most marked and most statesmanlike success of his political life. This was achieved with respect to the

famous Luxemburg Conference. The question was surrounded with a great deal of difficulty. Much was inherent, but more was imported by the national feeling of the parties to the treaty. The fortress has been the fruitful cause of much quarrel between the two Continental Powers most interested, and in 1839 a conference was held in which the representatives of Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, France, Austria, and Holland took part. By the terms of the treaty then entered upon, the possession of the Duchy was guaranteed to the King of Holland. The titles King of Holland and Duke of Luxemburg are each as it were appanages of the other. But its position so long as it was not in French hands could not fail to appear menacing to France. It stands at the immediate border of the French north-east frontier, and formed part of the German Confederation which was broken up at the close of the Austro-German War. There can be but little doubt that the French objection to the near neighbourhood of a fortified town to its frontier arose in the first instance in the shape of a desire to extend that frontier and absorb the town. But a real ground of fear presented itself when the city, as a part of the German Federation, was garrisoned by Prussian troops, and to this the French Government at once objected. Count Bismarck, speaking in the Great Northern Parliament a little time after the utterance of the French protest, said that it was necessary Germany should take into consideration the susceptibilities of France. He admitted that Luxemburg was an independent State, and he admitted the fact that the people of the Duchy showed a strong repugnance to being incorporated with Germany. He also spoke, as on occasion Count Bismarck well knows how to speak, of the influence which the European desire for peace would always have upon Prussia. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis de Moustier, speaking about the same time, said the French Government had always considered this question from three points of view, namely: as connected with the free consent of Holland; the loyal examination of the treaties by the great Powers; and the consultation of the wishes of the people by universal vote. He said that the French nation was willing to place the question in the hands of the great Powers, in the hope that thereby peace might be preserved. It was the general impression of European politicians at the time that Count Bismarck had cast a covetous eye upon that fat little Duchy; and many, notwithstanding the peaceable protestations on each side, regarded a war as imminent. But for the time the quarrel, which came in the end, was shelved, and the result of the pacific statements of the two countries was that a conference by the great Powers was held in London in the May of 1867. The members composing it represented Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Holland, and Lord Stanley was on this most weighty and momentous question chosen to represent England. The conference was opened on the 9th of May, and the eyes of all the politicians of Europe were eagerly turned that way, in the expectation of a struggle of diplomacy which could, in the very nature of things, be only succeeded by a struggle of a less polished fashion in the old battle-grounds of Europe. But by the marvellous tact and ability brought to bear upon the business of the time by Lord Stanley, no less than by the thorough and masterly knowledge of the whole subject which he displayed, the dreaded war was averted, and in the space of two days the conference was satisfactorily and peacefully concluded. It was agreed that Luxemburg should cease to be a fortified city, and it was made a condition that the Grand Duke should not at any future time restore the fortification.

This was the acme of Lord Stanley's fame, and all Europe was loud in its praise of the tact, the good sense, and sound judgment which had evolved so happy a result from materials so unpromising. In the Upper House, Earl Russell spoke in terms of warm approval and commendation of Lord Stanley's part in the negotiation, a courtesy for which Earl Derby thanked his old foeman with some emotion.

Not long after came the General Election under the new Reform Bill, and then the Liberal party being once more in office, and backed by a strong and enthusiastic majority, Mr. Gladstone instituted that long series of reforms for which his last Premiership will always be honourably remembered. Whilst the Irish Church Bill was still under discussion, Lord Stanley's hours in the House of Commons were numbered. He had opposed that Bill and had fought his hardest. But when the measure had passed the Commons and come before the notice of the Peers, it drew forth the last public speech of the noble Earl his father. Even to those to whom the gloomy vaticinations in which the veteran statesman indulged seemed altogether groundless, there was something very solemn and affecting in those last words. "If it be," he said, "for the last time I am addressing your Lordships, it will be a satisfaction to my dying day that I have been able to lift up my voice against the adoption of a measure, the political fallacy of which is equalled only by its moral iniquity." The measure passed, but the voice of the speaker was heard no more in that House. He died in the October of that year, 1869, and Lord Stanley succeeded to his place and to his honours.

Father and son were never bound more closely by the ties of public life, than were the Earl of Derby and his late father. Not only did the son receive every official appointment he had held up to the time of his father's death, from the hand of that father, but even on occasions of a publicly social character they were more than once seen together in the same capacities of giver and receiver. It was from the hand of the Earl of Derby that Lord Stanley received the honorary degree of D.C.L., on the 7th June, 1853, on the occasion of the inauguration of the former as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. The old Earl lived to see his son attain as high a position as that he had himself achieved, and to be assured that at his death the old and noble name would be left in worthy keeping.

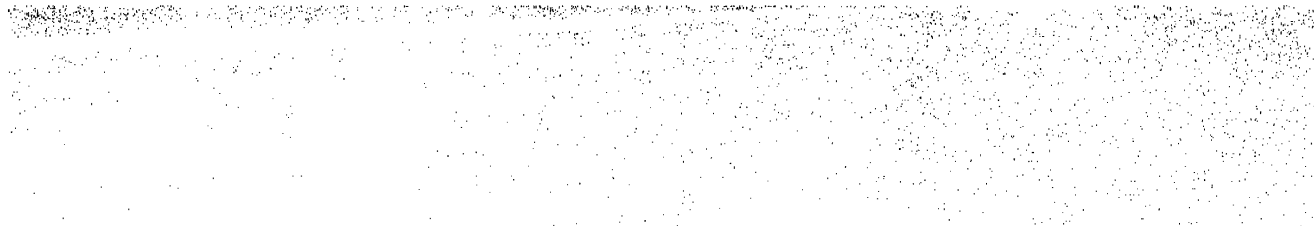
Since he has taken his seat in the House of Lords, the Earl of Derby has necessarily been less frequently before the eyes of the people. Until recent events again placed him on the side of power, it was impossible for him to rise on any occasion beyond a judicious policy of conciliation. But he is a man from whom much is still expected. He is in the first prime of life, he virtually leads in the House of Peers the party now dominant in the country, and it remains to be seen what new honours he will gather in the fields of legislature, council, and debate.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott & Fry.]





W. J. Cantuar



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THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE present biography opens a new era in the, as yet, brief history of the NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY. Hitherto we have dealt with statesmen. In the following pages we present the reader with our first biographical picture of an English Divine. Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, was born in Edinburgh on the 22nd December, 1811. He came of good blood on either side, although his family bore no title. His father was plain Craufurd Tait, Esq., W.S. He lived some time in Ireland, at Harvleston, County Clackmannan, but at the time of the birth of his youngest son, had settled in the Scottish capital. The mother was a daughter of Sir Islay Campbell, Baronet, of Succoth, some time Lord President of the Court of Session. The family connections, though sufficiently gentle, were not in any especial sense influential, and the way of life of the youngest son of a father thus situated would naturally depend greatly upon his own abilities or his want of them. The future Primate began his education at the High School, Edinburgh, and continued it at the Academy of the same city, where he came under the judicious and scholarly care of Archdeacon Williams. In 1827, whilst he was yet only sixteen years of age, he went after the Scottish fashion, which wastes no time in matters educational—to the University of Glasgow. Sir Daniel K. Sandford occupied the Greek chair at the university at this time, and the young student attended upon his lectures, as also upon those of Mr. Buchanan, a gentleman gratefully and honourably remembered by many students of those days. Here he studied to such good purpose that at the expiration of three years he was elected to an exhibition on Snell's foundation to Balliol College, Oxford.

The change from the Northern university to Oxford is in every respect a great one, but at this time it was made even more remarkable than usual by the presence of a new and wonderfully energetic school, principally composed of young and enthusiastic men, who at this time from the halls of Oxford sent forth disturbing signs and portents. At Glasgow the religious element, though not insisted upon, was strong. The nature of the formation of the university made the place the home of robust thought; but the speculations of the more daring would be held in check by the confined and dogmatic theology of the majority. The general sentiment was, as it always has been, very strongly opposed to the employment of an ornate or symbolistic ritual. This sentiment has been almost an instinct with the Scotch people, and has always made itself felt amongst them; though perhaps in a less rugged form, at the universities, than elsewhere. In those days the influence of German thought upon the youth of the seats of learning at Glasgow and Aberdeen was in its infancy, but whatever weight it had at so early a period was very decidedly against the new Oxonian school. Reared in the midst of the one set, and suddenly finding himself transferred to the ranks of the other, the young scholar's mind would without doubt be strongly exercised. But at the time of his arrival at Oxford the new school had not reached to anything



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like the proportions it was afterwards destined to assume. Mr. Tait graduated B.A., with first-class honours. He became successively scholar, fellow, and tutor in his college, and was subsequently appointed one of the public examiners in the university. During all the time which was occupied in the steady work necessary to achieve these several steps, the new school grew and flourished. It had in its ranks many men of the highest ability and earnestness. This is not the place for a discussion of the principles they attempted to restore or to initiate, but it will probably be admitted even by their most decided opponents that they were stimulated by the most admirable and laudable motives to the work they undertook; and that to whatever ends their doctrines may have been carried, they have at least been of service in awakening the Church from the lethargy into which she had so long fallen. The new theological school had among its members such men as Pusey, Newman, Froude, and Gladstone, and the influence it brought to bear upon the current thought of Oxford could not easily be over-estimated. When it is considered how largely the ranks of the English Clergy are recruited from this university, it cannot fail to be seen that this influence was most freely filtered down among the people themselves. That principle which guides the teachers of a people is of paramount importance. When at length the new or revived beliefs found actual utterance for themselves, the adherents to the received modes of thought were at once alarmed and startled. The publication of "Tracts for the Times" excited enormous public interest. The brilliance and the enthusiasm with which their views were pressed forward arrested the attention of all thinking men; and when the series culminated in the now celebrated tract of J. H. Newman, "Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles," the boldness with which the writer's opinions were stated appeared to demand at once recognition and opposition. The object of this tract, which was the ninetieth of the series, was to prove that the Thirty-nine Articles could be honestly subscribed by those who held "Catholic" doctrines. The broad and open manner in which this dogma was unfolded, may be conjectured from the frankness of the following brief extract from the tract itself:—"Our present scope . . . is merely to show that whilst our Prayer Book is on all hands acknowledged to be of Catholic origin, our Articles, also the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's good providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine." The quite unequivocal sense in which these words are to be interpreted by the light of the opinions elsewhere expressed in the tract, leaves but one conclusion open with respect to their meaning. Mr. Tait had always consistently held views widely opposed to those thus urged, and had been prominent in his opposition to the Tractarians. But now his loyalty to the Church and his official connection with the university—as one of the tutors of Balliol—appeared to him to combine to impel him to a formal protest against the opinions so boldly put forward. He joined with three other tutors, and in conjunction with them laid a memorial before the authorities of the university, calling their attention to the proceedings of the Tractarian party. That party was however too strong and too able to be put out of existence by any exercise of authority which the powers of the university thought fit to employ, and its ideas were still promulgated, although scarcely in so broad and unequivocal a form.

But whatever the nature of Mr. Tait's opinions on this question may have been, and how decided soever the action he took in respect to it, his personal relations with his opponents in doctrine were always of the most cordial kind. He was on terms of good feeling with all who were arrayed against him in respect to matters of church polity, and with some of them he was on a footing of warm friendship.

In 1836, whilst Mr. Tait held the position of a fellow at Balliol; his old university superior,

the holder of the Greek chair at Glasgow, Sir Daniel Sandford, died. The Professorship was offered to Mr. Tait, but he, in consequence of the fact that he was in holy orders, could not in the then existing condition of the law accept the office. It was a matter for some regret at the time, but six years later a much more extended and still more honourable sphere of usefulness was opened to him. The great and good Dr. Arnold, whose memory is so lovingly perpetuated by the continued praises of his old scholars, and of whom there are one or two genial and beautiful sketches in Mr. Hughes's story, "Tom Brown's School Days," died in the midst of his strength, and while yet in full possession of his splendid powers, in the year 1842. The last fourteen years of his life had been spent in the performance of his duties as Head Master of Rugby School. What he did for the school can with comparative ease be estimated; what he did for his country by the manly, sincere, and Christian training he imparted to so many of her sons, can only be conjectured. But the work was a very great and noble one, and there was scarcely a corner of England in which the news of Dr. Arnold's death in the course of that autumn vacation did not awake a feeling of deep loss and sincere sorrow. Perhaps no higher compliment could have been paid to any scholar at that period than would have been conveyed by the offer of the vacant Head-Mastership, and when that offer was made to Dr. Tait there was a very general feeling that the choice was apt and judicious. The proffered honour was accepted; and the manner in which the affairs of the school progressed under the new Head Master's control, demonstrated the soundness of the choice. The rule of Dr. Arnold had given a high tone to every department of the school, and had created a public belief in the worth of its training, and it was Dr. Tait's special aim to maintain this tone and to justify this belief. How well he succeeded in respect to the more outward prosperity of the school, the "Rugby Register," edited by Dr. Temple, clearly shows. During the fourteen years for which Dr. Arnold presided over the school, 1,320 boys were admitted. Dr. Tait ruled the fortunes of Rugby for a period little more than half that of Dr. Arnold's sway; but in his time—somewhat less than eight years—no fewer than 1,158 boys were admitted. These figures make it sufficiently clear that the high reputation gained by Dr. Arnold was worthily supported by his immediate successor; and it would indeed be difficult, in this peculiar direction, to offer higher praise. Under Dr. Tait the school attained to as high a position, and as eminent a popularity, as it had ever achieved since the days when Master Nicholas Greenhill held the ferule of power and sat in the chair of the first Head Master of Rugby.

It is pleasant to remark how many of those younger and less distinguished men with whom Dr. Tait was now associated in the work of tuition, have since then reached distinction in various honourable ways. Of the eight or nine assistant masters who worked with him, there are only one or two whose names are not or have not been prominently before the public. Mr. R. R. Wheeler Lingon, for instance, succeeded Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth as Secretary to the Educational Department of the Privy Council; and was in 1879 appointed Secretary of the Treasury, as successor to the Right Hon. G. A. Hamilton. The Rev. G. G. Bradley, some time Head Master of Marlborough College, and subsequently successor to the late eminent Dr. Plumtree as Master of University College, Oxford, was another of Dr. Tait's assistants. Yet another was Dr. John Campbell Shairp, author of "Kilmahoe, a Highland Pastoral," and "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy." It is one of the highest testimonials to the intellectual and moral qualities of a man, that he has been able for a space of years together to work in concert with men of this calibre, to preserve both authority and friendship, to insure at once their goodwill and

their reverence. This intimate association in educational labours with men so gifted was perhaps as valuable a training for the future Primate as could readily have been found.

One of Dr. Arnold's especial gifts was his pulpit eloquence, and the earnestness with which he spent his powers in the attempt to christianise his school created, or at least did much to create, that feeling of affectionate reverence with which he was on all hands regarded. Naturally much was expected in that direction of his successor, and certainly not Arnold himself laboured more earnestly in this field than Dr. Tait. His Rugby Sermons, many of which have been published, are remarkable for the breadth of their sympathy, and for the cordial, manly, sincere, and unaffected spirit of piety by which they are inspired. It would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of the position Dr. Tait then occupied, or the good which, in his unceasing discharge of the various duties devolving upon him, he effected. But there is a limit set to all human performance. That limit Dr. Tait endeavoured to pass, and the persistent overwork with which he burthened himself resulted in a complete breakdown. His health gave way beneath the strain placed upon it, and the severe illness which ensued probably induced him to accept the appointment to the vacant Deanery of Carlisle, offered to him by Earl Russell's Government in the April of the year 1850.

During his Head-Mastership of Rugby School he married a daughter of the late Rev. Archdeacon Spooner, the brother of the late Richard Spooner, who was for many years one of the Parliamentary representatives of the county of Warwick.

It was not in Dr. Tait's nature to make the post he now held an easy one. That graceful and cheerfully conversational writer, "The Country Parson," from whom the reading public was wont so regularly to receive a pleasant readable volume once a year, has somewhere said *apropos* of the work of the clergy that there is no labour which, to a conscientious man, is so hard as that which he could make easy if he would. The work of the cleric is always of this order, and it speaks highly for the clergy as a body that they do make the work which falls to their share so hard and so incessant. It was thus with Dr. Tait on his transference from the Head-Mastership of Rugby to the Deanery of Carlisle. Coming from a post in which overwork had seriously injured his health, to one in which, had he been so minded, he might have put off the harness of warfare for awhile, he seems but to have buckled it on afresh, and in his new sphere to have laboured as heartily as in his old one. He instituted in his new capacity an additional pulpit service for Sundays, and the duties thence arising he for the greater part himself discharged. To one so long engaged in educational work of so high a character as that which Dr. Arnold and he had each endeavoured to sustain at Rugby, the ignorance existing amongst the poor of the district in which he now found himself appeared especially deplorable, and he set himself earnestly to work to amend matters. He interested himself greatly in the work of education, and took a large personal share in it; and his time was further occupied by his efforts for the amelioration of the social and religious condition of the poor. During the whole of this time he was a member of the Oxford University Commission, and worked actively in its behalf.

Under these conditions Dr. Tait remained for six years, and left his position as Dean of Carlisle only to assume an office of higher dignity and greater responsibility. The late Dr. Blomfield, in the August of the year 1856, resigned the See of London under a special Act of Parliament; and Dr. Tait, to the almost universal satisfaction of the Church, was nominated to fill the vacancy thus occasioned. The new bishop entered upon his duties with great zeal and discretion. He gave a very considerable stimulus to the Home Missionary enterprise. He signalled his connection with the London Diocese by the splendid proposition to supply the deficiency of church

accommodation in London, by raising a fund of £1,000,000 in the course of ten years. During his possession of this exalted office, arose a question which may perhaps be described as the most exciting which has, from within, disturbed the Church since the secession of the Two Thousand. In 1867, Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, presented to the world the most extraordinary spectacle which has been witnessed within the Church of England in modern times—the spectacle of a missionary bishop converted or perverted by one of the untaught savages whom it was his duty to instruct; and, finding his opinions deranged in this extraordinary manner, impeaching the historical accuracy of holy writ. The genius of Dr. Colenso was almost wholly arithmetical, and all the ability displayed in his book was that of the arithmetician. It was not of any especially high order, nor were the difficulties started in his examination of the Pentateuch now remarked upon for the first time. The critical faculty of German expositors had long since been expended in the examination of the questions discussed by Dr. Colenso, and he himself appealed to no less modern a writer than Dean Stanley in support of the theses he endeavoured to establish. But extraordinary as were the causes which set the Bishop of Natal upon this inquiry, and singular as was the attitude which he as a dignitary of the English Church assumed, the bishop and the book were but a part of a most curious phenomenon. It must be remembered that the difficulties thus started were long familiar to the scholars of the Church, and that Dr. Colenso had professed himself unshaken in his acceptance of the great truths of Christianity. He admitted the possibility of errors in transcription. It is possible that if he had never written that famous chapter of explanation, protest, and apology, which forms the preface to his work, the book itself would have seemed greatly less dangerous. In his anxiety to excuse his enterprise he damaged it. *Qui s'excuse, s'accuse*. But for all this, Dr. Colenso's preface afforded an indisputable evidence of his honesty. The singularity of the whole performance was increased tenfold by the unaccountable agitation into which the book threw nearly the whole of the English clerical body. Never were the doves of the theological Corioli more fluttered. But amongst those whose calm good sense and penetration held them back from sharing in the strange excitement of the time was Dr. Tait. Whilst many organs of public opinion pathetically deplored, and others indignantly condemned, the course adopted by the Bishop of Natal, Dr. Tait lost neither his philosophy nor his temper. Amongst the most active of those who condemned the book and its author was the Bishop of Capetown. It would be doing him a grave injustice not to say that throughout the painful discussion which followed, in which he bore a very important part, he conducted his share of it with the most delicate moderation; and that he was induced to take upon himself the responsibility he accepted by a stern sense of duty, which no desire to make things comfortable could possibly interfere with. He, being in England at the time, was strongly in favour of consecrating another bishop to supersede Dr. Colenso at Natal. The decision of all the authorities to whom appeal was made, both ecclesiastical and legal, was opposed to such a course, but the Bishop of Capetown appeared to persist in his determination. Under these circumstances the Bishop of London addressed him publicly, in a memorable letter published in the *Times* in January, 1868. In that letter, which is conceived and written in a spirit of very wise moderation, he regrets that Dr. Colenso has felt himself impelled to the action he has taken, and states that he looks upon his doctrine as dangerous; but he advises the Bishop of Capetown to refrain from the course upon which he has apparently decided, and cites the authoritative decisions in favour of Bishop Colenso's retention of his office. The Archbishops of Canterbury and of York each expressed the opinions to which Dr. Tait had already given vent, and there can be but little doubt that the publication of his letter had something to do in the formation of

the views afterwards expressed by his ecclesiastical superiors. In due time the Colenso storm blew over, and it is at once profitable and instructive to remark the slight influence which this examination of the Pentateuch actually brought to bear on modern theological convictions after all. It is only when the excitement consequent upon a movement of this kind has subsided, that the wisdom of the counsel of the few becomes apparent. Even those who at the time found themselves much exercised by the apparent coolness with which a Church dignitary regarded the whole question, will now be among the first to acknowledge the justice of his conduct. Dr. Tait's reputation will always stand the higher because of the calmness of his bearing at this time of general excitement.

When in 1868 the Primate of England, Dr. Longley, died, it was generally felt that a man of unusual moderation would best succeed him. In the present condition of things nothing could be greatly more disastrous to the truest interests of the Church of England than that a mere partisan should lead her councils. The inevitable, natural, and not unwholesome struggle between the moderate upholders respectively of High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church can proceed far more to the advantage of the whole body under one who recognises the good in each of them, and whose sympathies are wide enough to include a faith in the saving efficacy of more than one form of Christianity.

Dr. Tait has not frequently addressed the House of Lords, but when he has done so, he has always afforded fresh proof, if fresh proof were still needed, of the cheerful catholicity of his nature. Since his elevation to the exalted position he now holds, he has spoken still more rarely. In 1869, when, with that celebrated majority at his back, which has since, under the influence of a Conservative reaction, melted into thin air, Mr. Gladstone determined on the separation of the Irish Church from State control, the utterances of the Primate of all England were naturally looked for with a considerable amount of interest. In spite of the struggles of Mr. Disraeli and his party, the Bill had passed through the House of Commons in a singularly triumphant way, and when on the evening of the 14th of June the stupendous measure came before the Upper House, the eyes of all men in the empire were turned that way in most earnest and watchful expectation. As if somewhat stung by the letter which John Bright had recently addressed to his constituents, in which he stated with his characteristic frankness of speech his opinion that the "Lords were not wise," the whole of the Upper Chamber gave itself to the discussion of this momentous question with a gravity, an earnestness, an eloquence, and a logical power with which in few quarters its members had been credited. At that time the usefulness of the presence of the bishops in the House of Peers was very widely questioned by many of the Liberal party. To the question thus raised the speeches of the Lords spiritual that evening presented a very emphatic and sufficient answer. The Bishop of Peterborough especially distinguished himself in the course of the debate which ensued. But it is probable that no speech of the evening was more eagerly awaited by the readers of the public prints of the following day than that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. His exalted position, his wide experience, and the known moderation of his views, conspired to make his speech important in the eyes of the general public, whilst they also were not without their due weight on the members of both Houses. With his habitual calmness Dr. Tait refrained from the melancholy vaticinations to which many of his colleagues gave way, and with his accustomed openness he was willing to offer to the promoters of the Bill the fullest faith in the beneficence of their intention. He remarked upon the exceeding gravity of the crisis which the measure introduced, and protested that he and his brethren would be guided by neither side, but would abide by the advice of

their own consciences. In view of the great and overwhelming majority by which the measure was supported in the Lower House, he felt that it would be unwise and impolitic wholly to oppose it. He admitted, as Mr. Disraeli had done in previous discussions, the weight which legitimately attached itself to so unanimous a public decision as had been given in this case. But he argued that the measure still stood in need of amendments. In its present state it held out no adequate inducement to the Church of Ireland to re-incorporate itself. But he did not feel sure that, with all its deficiencies, it might not be turned into a good measure; and he saw more good in its revision by the House than in tumultuous meetings in Manchester and Liverpool. Most gracefully submitting to the inevitable, he reminded his fellow-dignitaries that, howsoever this measure might separate the Church in Ireland from the English Church, it could never break the true cord of spiritual union and mutual help which existed between them. It will be readily admitted that it required a more than usually tranquil and a more than usually cheerful spirit, for the Primate of the English Church to view with so calm a wisdom a measure which many believed at the time so threatening to his own position. It indicated indeed a certain self-possessed quietude of spirit not without its heroism.

Of late years the question of the conduct of public worship has been found to embody a somewhat difficult problem. Public attention has been directed to this fact by the Bennett, Mackonochie, and Purchas cases, and the legal machinery which it was (and still is) necessary to set in motion for the enforcement of the laws concerning the conduct of worship in the English Church, was at once cumbrous and expensive, and productive of long delay. In the Bill recently introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the House of Lords, the Bishops have sought to provide a remedy for any grievances which may afflict the laity of the Church, which shall be both readier and less expensive. In the course of his speech Dr. Tait advanced the fact that the amount of taxed costs in the case of "*Sheppard v. Bennett*" was more than £11,000. The *Times* of the day following that on which the speech was delivered, remarked that Dr. Tait had handled the subject in a manner which commanded general if not universal consent. The problem it is desired to solve can never be mastered if handled in a party spirit, and we have already said enough to show that the Primate of England is—even apart from his high office—one of the fittest men in the Church to introduce such a measure as that laid before the House of Lords on the 21st April. The fate of the Bill in the Canterbury Convocation which so speedily followed its introduction to Parliament was unfortunate; but it so far succeeded that its general principle was accepted, even whilst the object it sought to bring about was indefinitely delayed. Even this meagre result was only obtained by the casting vote of the Prolocutor of the Lower Chamber of Convocation, the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth. It has been prophesied by a high authority that, in the absence of exciting political topics, a good deal of work in the direction of Church Reform is likely to be done during the reign of the present Administration; and it is not likely that a measure so urgently called for, and so likely to be beneficial in action, will be allowed by its promoters to be decisively shelved. Amongst the supporters of the principle of the measure may be counted Lord Selborne and Dean Stanley—men whose opinions are likely to carry great weight on such a question.

After a life spent in noble labour, Dr. Tait reaps in the dignity of his position, and in the reverence and goodwill of those over whose councils he presides, his high reward. Rightly viewed, there can be few positions supposed more noble than that to which, as the result of his own talent, wisdom, and faculty for labour, he has been elevated. Nor is the office destitute of those glories which add a harmless zest even to the possession of a post so sacred. The palace in which by right of his position he resides, is rich in stories of old time, and in historic and

legendary association. Lambeth was a royal manor in the very old days, and there in the midst of the jollity of a wedding feast, as one nameless old chronicler relates, died Hardiknute the Saxon King. So early as 1197 it became the property of the See of Canterbury, by an exchange between Primate Hubert Walter, and Bishop Glanville of Rochester. The palace fell into decay, but in 1244 Primate Boniface, who seems to have been a somewhat fiery personage—a true member of the Church Militant—rebuilt it with great magnificence, as a sort of penance for a sudden outbreak of temper. In the Wars of the Roses, the building, then graced with all the beauties of age, was much damaged by the different armies. In the civil wars of the seventeenth century it fared still worse at the hands of “that regicide Scot,” as an old Cavalier chronicler angrily calls him. Archbishop Juxon at the Restoration found the palace of his predecessors a heap of ruins, and piously restored it. As it now stands it possesses a glorious library, some splendid and unique manuscripts, and many works of art.

Its present resident is no unfit successor of those who have gone before. Wise, patient, moderate, scholarly, and experienced, he is worthy of the place he holds. He has not gone free of charges of weakness from the partisans of either section of a much-divided Church. But those who stand outside, and who as the proverb proclaims see best, are now generally of opinion that the policy the Archbishop of Canterbury has seen fit to adopt is the product of the truest spirit of wisdom, and that it springs largely from a charity which, within certain limits, is not averse to any form of faith, and which recognises the great truth that theological opposites best correct and stimulate each other. In Convocation Dr. Tait is not talkative, but he rarely speaks without considerable effect. He has not written or published much. His chief contributions to literature are two volumes of sermons preached at Rugby and Oxford; “The Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology,” a work incorporating some criticisms on the famous *Essays and Reviews*; “The Word of God and the Ground of Faith” (1863), and a number of articles chiefly relating to education and its kindred topics, and published for the most part in the *Edinburgh* and *North British Reviews*.

[The Portrait herein is from a Photograph taken by the London Stereoscopic Company.]

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE COCKBURN.



ENGLAND has a right to be proud of her judges. It would not at this time be candid to say that the judges of the British Bench have their equals in no other country ; but no great time has gone by since the justice of the Continent was mixed with fraud, since injustice could be had for money, and the laws were perverted to mercenary ends. But whilst in other countries it is a new thing to find the source of legal judgment pure and incorruptible, in England this is but the preservation of a proud and old tradition. The honour of no class is more nearly related to the well-being of a people than that of its judges. The position thus honoured becomes the legitimate object of ambition to the honourable, and its continued nobility is insured. So it comes that to be an English judge argues a man learned, sagacious, deliberate in judgment, impartial in rule. To say that a man stands high as a judge, or that he holds distinguished office, is but to add force to the eulogy—understood though unspoken. The long list of honoured and honourable names connected with the history of the British Bench does not include many more worthy of high regard than that of Alexander James Edward Cockburn, the present Lord Chief Justice of England. He was long and deservedly famous at the Bar, and the record of his life is one of high purposes, pure integrity, and an industry not often equalled even among his learned brethren.

Lord Chief Justice Cockburn is a man of good family. He is the grandson of Sir James Cockburn, the seventh baronet of the name ; and his father, Alexander Cockburn, held the office of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Columbia. Alexander Cockburn married the daughter of the Viscomité de Vignier of St. Domingo, and the subject of the present memoir was the issue of that marriage, and was born in the second year of this century. In 1822 he entered at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and gave early evidence of the possession both of signal talent and great industry. He took prizes for the best composition in English and Latin, and later on, gained the prize for the best English essay. He graduated as B.C.L. in 1829, and was elected a fellow of his college. He was called to the Bar of the Middle Temple on the 6th February, 1829. He joined the Western Circuit, and at the Devonshire Sessions he speedily established for himself a high reputation. Sessions practice was at this time much more plentiful and of a higher character than now. The law of settlement had not reduced parish appeals to a minimum, and many of the cases which are now relegated to the assizes were at this time disposed of at the sessions. Sir William Follett, who afterwards rose to high legal rank, was himself the leader of the Bar of the district sessions at which Mr. Cockburn first practised. In the year 1831, Lord John Russell introduced his celebrated Reform Bill, which, after “an unparalleled war of tongues,” lasting from the March of that year to the June of the following, received the consent of both Houses and of the Sovereign. The condition of matters electoral at that time, and the very slight ground which existed for any belief in the purity of an English election, may be gathered from the list of pocket

boroughs, and the description of the prevailing influence in each, read to the Lower House by Lord John Russell in the course of that remarkable debate. The new law, whilst it undoubtedly did much to amend this deplorable state of things, could not be expected instantly to furnish a remedy. Indeed, as it not unfrequently happens, the sudden administration of the medicine appeared for a brief time to increase the virulence of the symptoms which afterwards vanished under its influence, and the number of disputed elections following on the new Act was almost unprecedented. This condition of things afforded Mr. Cockburn the first opportunity which had presented itself to him of making himself usefully and prominently known to the profession; and he took advantage of it by the opportune publication of reports of decisions which arose out of the measure. These reports were at first published in separate form, but their extreme usefulness and accuracy soon led to their publication in collected shape. The volume is spoken of by a recent legal critic as being of "great and substantial merit." The first result of this publication was, that Mr. Cockburn was employed in several contests before election committees. The session of 1833 brought him his first brief as a Parliamentary counsel, he being retained as junior for the sitting members for Coventry, Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer and Mr. Edward Ellice. In the same session he was associated with Sir W. Follett in the Lincoln and Dover petitions, and from the peculiar circumstances of the case he found opportunities rarely afforded to a junior counsel for displaying his own abilities. He exerted himself to such good purpose that in 1834 he was placed on the Municipal Corporation Committee. His Parliamentary employments, and the more regular business of the courts, became of such magnitude that in 1841 he felt himself warranted in obtaining the precedence of a silk gown. In the same year an attempt was made to deprive his uncle, upon whom the family baronetcy had descended, of the Deanery of York; and Mr. Cockburn ably defended his relative's cause, and succeeded in overthrowing the scheme of his opponents.

In the year 1842 an event occurred which, creating a profound sensation in nearly every rank of English society, presented the newly created Queen's Counsel with his first great opportunity for the display of his talents as a leader at the Bar. On the 21st day of the January of that year, Mr. Drummond, the private secretary of Sir Robert Peel, and the nephew of the great Charing Cross banker, waited upon Sir Robert at the Privy Council Office, and after the dispatch of the business of the day, called upon his brother at the bank. Leaving there about four o'clock in the afternoon, he passed the Salopian Coffee House, where a man standing near the window drew a pistol and discharged it at him without warning. He had already drawn a second weapon when he was seized by a policeman, who after a desperate struggle succeeded in wresting it from him, but not before it had exploded—fortunately muzzle downwards. Mr. Drummond, wounded by the first discharge, was supported by a bystander, and contrived to walk back to the bank. The bullet was extracted, and the injury done was supposed to be comparatively trifling. A further examination, however, revealed dangerous hurts. The patient grew rapidly worse, and in four days from the date of the attack he died. The assassin, who refused his name and conducted himself in a very singular manner, was found to be a Mr. McNaughten, a man of substance and education. The case excited everywhere the most absorbing attention. The deceased was a man who had laboured long and honourably in the public service, and apart from the general execration of the crime, a further and deeper interest was imparted to the story by a very general belief that the murderer had mistaken Mr. Drummond for Sir Robert Peel, and that the shot was in reality intended for the person of the Prime Minister. Against this McNaughten himself protested, but in neither case did it appear possible to discover any

motive for the act. The Solicitor-General (Sir W. Follett), Mr. Waddington, and Sir Russell Gurney appeared at the trial in behalf of the Crown, whilst Mr. Cockburn led the defence. That defence is still preserved as a masterpiece. In the course of his exordium, which was characterised by the gravest eloquence, he delivered one passage of unusual force and solemnity. "I stand," he said, "in a British Court, where Justice, with Mercy for her handmaid, sits enthroned on the noblest of her altars, dispelling by the brightness of her presence the clouds which occasionally gather over human intelligence, and aweing into silence by the holiness of her eternal majesty the angry passions which sometimes intrude beyond the threshold of her sanctuary, and force their way even to the very steps of her throne." One little fact in connection with this pleading is worth notice. The speech was delivered on Saturday; a shorthand note was taken of it by a legal admirer of the speaker, and on Monday morning a full report, occupying ten columns, appeared in the *Chronicle*. That report was the work of one hand. The speech displayed great legal erudition, and was remarkable for its eloquence and justness. It was rich in precedent and in cases of warning, and the learned counsel cited among others the cases of Lord Ferrers, of Hatfield, and of Bellingham. The ground of defence was, of course, that the prisoner was insane, and the arguments and the evidence adduced convinced both bench and jury of the truth of this hypothesis. The unfortunate McNaughten was accordingly ordered to be confined during Her Majesty's pleasure.

So important a case, conducted in a manner so brilliant and so successful, could not fail to bring Mr. Cockburn prominently before the public. He had in the meantime been appointed Recorder of Southampton, and in the year following his appointment, was returned to Parliament as member for that borough in the Liberal interest. At this time all commercial England was flushed with the excitement of the railway mania. Everywhere there were prospectuses issued for the making and opening of new lines of rail, many of them in the absurdest situations. The neglect and indifference with which the scheme of Stephenson had been treated now revenged themselves in the extraordinary avidity with which nearly all speculators rushed to the shores of this new imaginary Pactolus. As a thing of course, the vast majority of the projected lines never came to any practical end, or were deferred for greater or less periods of time. But the discussion of the projected lines before the Parliamentary committees afforded employment to many able pleaders, and amongst them to Mr. Cockburn, who was rapidly rising both in the public esteem and in that of his fellows at the Bar. In Parliament his value to his party rapidly increased. In 1850 the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston had excited a great deal of adverse comment, and the most remarkable of the debates of that session sprang from the same cause. A vote of censure was proposed against the Government. Lord Palmerston justified himself with his accustomed self-possession and jaunty ease, but the majority of the members of the House were not in a condition of mind to be charmed by the old insolent spell which the Premier had so often cast over them. Mr. Cockburn came to the defence in another fashion, and defended the Government in a most admirable speech, which however was not sufficient to avert the anger of the House. This debate was also made memorable by the fact that it drew forth the last speech of Sir Robert Peel, who on the following day was thrown from his horse and sustained injuries which resulted fatally. It was remarked of Mr. Cockburn's Parliamentary speeches, that they had little or nothing of that professional manner which usually characterises the utterances of members of the Bar in the House of Commons; and they were further noteworthy for the fact that, like his pleadings, they combined a perfect lucidity and clearness with a great deal of imagery and illustration. His speech had an air of being at once ornate and simple. In the course of his legal career it has been said of him by a high authority that he "flies better than he walks;"

but that he can "walk," and that too with the most painstaking and accurate observation of each step of the way, he has again and again demonstrated.

On the 27th of May, 1850, an event occurred which excited the popular mind to an unusual pitch. Her Majesty, accompanied by her children and by the Lady Jocelyn, had called upon the Duke of Cambridge, who then lay upon what proved to be his death-bed. This was about six o'clock in the evening, and whilst Her Majesty's carriage waited within the gates of Cambridge House it was noticed that a gentlemanly-looking man lingered outside. It was so common a circumstance that a gentleman should pause in his walk to see the Queen's carriage pass, that he attracted no notice until when—the carriage having just emerged from the courtyard—he sprang forward and, with a light walking-stick he carried, struck Her Majesty a blow upon the forehead, crushing the light bonnet she wore and inflicting a slight bruise. The man was at once seized and taken into custody. It proved that he had recently held Her Majesty's commission as a lieutenant in a cavalry corps. He was spoken of by everybody who knew him as a mild and amiable man, of solitary habits and eccentric character, and there can be but little doubt that he was of unsound mind. Her Majesty was fortunately so little injured that she was able to show herself at the opera the same evening. When she entered and was perceived, the acclamations of the excited audience suspended the performance, and players and public joined in the National Anthem. The prisoner was tried on the 11th of July at the Central Criminal Court. Mr. Cockburn conducted his defence with all his usual tact and skill, but the jury were of opinion that though the prisoner was in some respects deranged, he was still sufficiently sane to know of the nature of the act he had committed. They accordingly returned a verdict of Guilty, and the unfortunate gentleman was sentenced to seven years' transportation beyond the seas.

In the July of the year 1850, Mr. Cockburn was promoted to the office of Solicitor-General, and received the honour of Knighthood; and in the March following he achieved a step still higher, being promoted to the post of Attorney-General. In the February of 1852, Lord John Russell's Government having been defeated, the Earl of Derby came into office, and, as a matter of course, Sir Alexander retired with his party. The Derby Government had a very brief tenure of office indeed, and in the December of the same year, the Coalition Government of Lord Aberdeen restored the Liberal Attorney-General to office. Two years later he became Recorder of Bristol, but still continued to represent Southampton, the political connection between himself and that borough lasting until his elevation to the Bench.

During his retention of the office of Attorney-General he was engaged in the once celebrated "Hopwood" case, but the most remarkable of all the inquiries in which he took part during this period was that into the guilt of William Palmer, the Rugeley murderer. We have no intention to go in this place into the terrible and revolting details of this man's crime, or to tell anew in any lengthy form the story of its detection. But it is necessary that the outline should be indicated, at least. The facts that Palmer's medical knowledge had enabled him with greater secrecy to employ poisons, that he knew the poison he selected left no sign of internal inflammation, that he further was the friend and medical attendant of the man he murdered, and thus was possessed of means and opportunities which he could in no other case have had—all rendered his conviction a matter of intense difficulty and of some uncertainty. To the outside public the issues appeared mysteriously perplexed, but in the mind of the man to whose duty it fell to trace home the crime to the criminal, the case was clear as noonday. Every lawyer knows the difficulties and the dangers attendant on circumstantial evidence. The history of this and of other countries has given so many proofs of the inaccuracy of judgments formed upon presumptions of this character, that

evidence merely circumstantial has come to be treated with the gravest care, and its conclusions are only received when absolutely overwhelming. It is not too much to say that the criminal annals of England contain a record of no speech more remarkable than that delivered by Sir Alexander Cockburn, in his opening address to the jury in this great trial. In view of the nature of the issue involved, the calm, solid, and judicious statement became absolutely terrible in its clearness. As though dealing with an elaborate design shattered by accident into a thousand fragments, the leader for the Crown laid the dreadful story fact by fact before the court, until at length the picture became so complete that there was no hope for doubt. The murderer appeared to sit for a long time in confidence of acquittal. But scores of men had been unconscious and involuntary spies upon him. Words, looks, and acts, each nothing of themselves, were called to memory, and the masterly arrangement of the order of the witnesses was such that each threw into most startling light the revelations of the other. Mr. Sergeant Shee, who appeared for the prisoner, struggled with all his power of eloquence and argument against the theory of the prosecution. He employed all the devices of cross-examination, he exhausted satire, and pathos, and denunciation. But it was of no avail. In the solemn, calm, and judicial light in which the Attorney-General's speech had placed the story, there was no room for a single shadow of doubt. The trial began on the 14th of May, 1856, and continued until the 27th. The 18th and 25th days of the month, being Sundays, were of course omitted. The absorbing interest with which the whole public regarded it will be still remembered. The Central Criminal Court during the progress of the trial was daily surrounded by enormous crowds. It was wisely determined that none should be admitted to the court but such as had obtained tickets, and the number of consequent applications was something wonderful. Peers and members of Parliament well-nigh filled the court, and "some of the judges came down to witness the most terrible case of *Oyer* in their day." Palmer was eventually found guilty, and in due course suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

In the November of the year in which this celebrated cause was tried, Sir Alexander was made Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He presided in that court for nearly three years. In 1858 his uncle the Dean of York died, and he succeeded to the baronetcy. In the following year Lord Campbell, then the Chief Justice of England, was elevated to the Lord-Chancellorship, and the post thus left vacant was filled by Sir Alexander Cockburn. But before this last-named position was attained he had, in his capacity as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, been engaged in a case of national importance and of world-wide interest.

On the 7th of October, 1865, the first open evidence of disaffection was given by the negroes of Jamaica, when a mob some 150 strong, and armed with stones and bludgeons, attempted to rescue a man who was about to be tried at the court-house for some offence. This mob came headed by a band of music, which was silenced on reaching the hall of justice. The men obtained admittance, and were extremely disorderly. One of their number having been arrested for creating a disturbance, the others rushed forward, seized him from the hands of the police, and bore him away. Warrants for the apprehension of those engaged in this outbreak were at once issued, and it was especially desired to arrest one Paul Bogle, who appears afterwards to have displayed himself as a very daring and unscrupulous fellow. But the resistance to authority was in this case better organised. The mob was now armed with bayonets, cutlasses, and pikes. Three policemen who endeavoured to enforce the warrants were arrested. Two of them were handcuffed, and all three only escaped death by swearing, at the dictation of Bogle, a solemn oath to join the mutinous party. On the afternoon of the next day, whilst the Custos and several magistrates of the district were sitting in vestry at Morant Bay to debate on the

best method of procedure, suddenly, about three o'clock, a band of music was heard, and a mob of four or five hundred negroes appeared, armed in a miscellaneous but formidable fashion, and many of them carrying old firearms. Eighteen volunteers were drawn up round the courthouse for the protection of the Custos and his fellow-magistrates. The Riot Act was read, and the negroes were advised to disperse. They however opened an attack, and the volunteers, who were mercilessly pelted with stones, at length retaliated and fired. A battle immediately ensued, in which the overwhelming numbers of the negroes soon told. The volunteers were cut to pieces (some of them literally so, and not merely in the military sense), the courthouse was smashed, and the ruins were made into a bonfire. The Custos and several magistrates and private gentlemen were killed, and the bodies treated with nameless and obscene atrocity. It is said that the eyes and hearts of several of the victims were carried away by the exulting and victorious negroes.

News of the insurrection was not long in finding its way to Spanish Town, from whence Governor Eyre with the utmost dispatch sent out a party of soldiers to the disturbed districts. The negroes were no bolder than other mobs, and as soon as they found themselves in the presence of men trained in the use of arms, they turned tail and ran. They were hunted from their hiding-places, and punished with great severity. In the Morant Bay district martial law was instituted, and the rough-and-ready justice of military discipline was severely meted out to the mutineers. Governor Eyre himself made a journey of inquiry, and one of the results at which he arrived was thus expressed in his own formal statement: "I found everywhere the most unmistakeable evidence that Mr. George William Gordon, a coloured member of the House of Assembly, had not only been mixed up in this matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentation and seditious language addressed to the ignorant black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion." On this ground Gordon was arrested, a measure to which the civil authorities were certainly under the circumstances competent. But the unfortunate part of the affair was, that whilst he was arrested at the instance of the civil power, in Kingston where martial law did not prevail, he was transferred to the hands of the military authorities, and removed to the district of Morant Bay, which was under military rule. Whatever doubts may exist as to the degree of Gordon's culpability, or however much he may have deserved the punishment he afterwards underwent, it cannot be denied that this transference was a grave error. Its illegality was proclaimed by the most eminent of English jurists; but it was urged in extenuation that the time was not one which admitted of any very nice attention to the letter of the law. Gordon's removal to Morant Bay was followed up by a hurried form of military trial. He was brought before a court summoned by Colonel Nelson, and presided over by Lieutenant Brand; some evidence was given against him, he was found guilty, sentenced to death, and hanged.

Pending his execution, Gordon addressed a letter to his wife, in which he protested his innocence of sedition, and proclaimed that his only intention was to ameliorate by peaceful and orderly means the condition of the negroes of the island. He declared that he had acted and spoken only as became a Christian, and he earnestly disclaimed all intention to excite the people to a breach of the law. This letter, being published after his death, excited a great deal of feeling in the minds of many people in England, and strong expressions of indignation against Governor Eyre were vented in many quarters. It was proclaimed that the authorities had acted hysterically and with needless severity. Strange stories were told of the cruelty of the punishments devised by the revengeful authorities and inflicted upon the blacks. Another section of the public applauded the determination and vigour with which the Governor had acted. An association

was eventually formed, and a subscription raised, for the expressed purpose of prosecuting Governor Eyre; and another subscription was raised by the opposing party, under the name of the "Eyre Defence Fund." Matters culminated at length in the charge of murder brought against Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand. The outbreak took place and was quelled in the latter part of 1865. It was not until 1867 that Sir Alexander Cockburn was called upon to deliver the charge to the grand jury, empannelled at the Central Criminal Court to decide upon the validity of the accusation.

If the address to the jury in the case of Palmer may be accepted as a pattern in the art of accusation and proof, the charge to the grand jury on the Jamaica question may be no less accepted as a striking example of legal skill, perfect command of the question considered, and judicial impartiality. Great as the speech undoubtedly is, it is evidently but the merest reflection of the immense study and research undertaken by the Chief Justice before its delivery. There is no historical precedent which has been allowed to escape his attention, and he has evidently entered into the study of them all with a completeness, for the expression of which there is no scope in the speech itself. The Earl of Lancaster in rebellion against Edward II.; Wat Tyler's insurrection against Richard II.; the case of the Pretender Simnel; the existence of martial law in England in the reigns of Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, are all made to serve as precedents, and to illustrate the law which national usage and consent have gradually built up on this question. It is worth while to notice that he stated in the plainest possible terms his conviction that no jury, however interested or prejudiced, if guided by a competent, impartial, and honest judge, could "on evidence so morally and intrinsically worthless, on evidence so utterly inconclusive," have condemned Gordon on a charge of high treason. There is no escape from the fact that the charge told strongly against the action taken by Governor Eyre, and by the military authorities; but the grand jury, after retiring to consider the question, returned with a finding of "no true bill." The Jamaican question there virtually ended, and it is probable that the greater number of the English were content to allow it to end in that manner. The law had been clearly elicited and definitely laid down, and it was generally felt that the legal errors of such a time of distraction were pardonable.

When, in the year 1872, the long-discussed question of the *Alabama* claims was brought before an international convention, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn was appointed to represent England. The august body by whom the claims were considered, met at Geneva on July 15th. The award was finally made on September 25th of the same year, and the "reasons" actuating the various arbitrators in the decisions at which each had arrived were published. It will be remembered that he dissented from the verdict of his colleagues. He differed from the grounds on which the decision of the tribunal was founded, but with respect to the *Alabama* he concurred in regarding Great Britain as liable; although he protested against the damages awarded as being excessive, and especially objected to the imposition of interest on the sum decided upon. For his services in this arbitration, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn was created a G.C.B.

But the case most memorable in Lord Chief Justice Cockburn's career is, of course, that which has so recently closed with the imprisonment of the Claimant for the Tichborne Estates. The history of that transcendent imposture yet remains to be written, and the industrious novelist of the future may lose himself in trackless deserts of evidence, and resign himself to despair in oceans of verbiage, as he seeks for plot and for delineations of manners in the details of the *cause célèbre* of the nineteenth century. But for the man who wishes only to know the story of the trial at Bar, and to find a complete and judicial synopsis and comparison of the conflicting evidence given, the summing up of the Lord Chief Justice will suffice. It is not history in a popularised form, for that would have been out of place at such a time. It is a lucid digest of the most enormous mass of matter

which ever judge had to handle. It is a masterly compression of the talk of a year into the talk of a fortnight. There is no point of importance upon which it does not touch. There is no fallacy in that enormous tissue of fallacies which it does not expose. It goes nowhere beyond the bounds of judicial direction, but its purport and bearing are clear, because the arrangement of its facts is perfect. This great summing up will remain as one of the treasures of legal history. Apart from the enormous and weary length of the case, apart from the magnitude of the interest involved, apart almost from the historical interest of the case itself, this great speech has a legal value which makes it and will keep it unique. At an expenditure of far less time than that taken by either of the learned counsel in attack or defence, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn has given the complete attack and defence within the limits of his one speech.

Some years ago Mr. Sergeant Shee (afterwards Mr. Justice Shee) spoke of the Lord Chief Justice in terms which appear so aptly to refer to a feeling now existent in the minds of many people, that they obtain a new and striking interest. He said: "We like him because we know that he did not arrive at the high position which he now occupies without having first obtained ~~solely~~ by his own endowments and superior talents—the highest position at the Bar. We like him because we know that not merely the honour of the profession, but the honour and character of every man who comes before him, are safe in his hands. We like and admire him because we observe every day that the command which he possesses of all the treasures and all the beauties of our noble language enables him, whenever there is occasion for it, to refute whatever fallacies or sophistries are put forward before him at the Bar, and to vindicate at the close of every cause the innocence which belongs to those who are tried. But most of all we like him, we respect him, we love him, for this—because whenever he has occasion to reprove or to rebuke—and no man in his position can be without having some occasion to reprove and rebuke—he takes care always to temper authority with gentleness, and to rebuke without giving pain."

To this commendation from one himself so eminent it would be difficult to add anything. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn is now within one step of the highest honour which can be conferred on a legal ambition. But the making of that step could now be neither more nor less than an accident of circumstance, which would have no weight in determining his future fame or influencing the estimate which he is now held. It would not easily be possible for him to rise to a higher place than that he occupies in the estimate both of the Bench and the Bar. Celebrated as an advocate for his learning, his eloquence, and his thoroughness, he has borne these faculties with him to his seat upon the Bench. His learning has ripened and extended with years, whilst his mental vigour and his eloquence have in no way declined. It would be difficult to give higher praise than is conveyed in saying that he has worthily filled his great office, and that he has been no ignoble successor to the great and now historically famous men who preceded him.



G. M. Moseley
Maj. Genl.



F. M. Bailey
Major Genl.

SIR GARNET WOLSELEY.

SIR GARNET WOLSELEY is an example of the singular manner in which the one pre-eminently fitting man for a purpose is occasionally called out by the exigencies of his time. In these later days we as a people have suddenly found ourselves thrown back into somewhat of the position occupied by our ancestors. The restless activity of the Anglo-Saxon race has always found a natural outlet in the excitements and dangers attendant upon the conquest and colonisation of savage territories, and that great family which has now extended its dominion over more than half the civilised globe has fulfilled, as its especial destiny, the work of pioneering for the rest of the world through savage and inhospitable regions. The Anglo-Saxon race is the advance-guard of humanity.

But the special faculties of the race in this regard were almost forgotten until within the last two-score years. Singly and in small parties its members were busy—actuated by the spirit which brought their ancestors from the far North—in colonising the forests of New Zealand, the backwoods of America, the frozen tracts of Northern Canada, the lonely isles of the Pacific, the fertile reaches of Australia. But the work was carried on strictly by individual enterprise, and for many years no distinct and national attempt was made to open up a savage and trackless country, or to subdue to the uses of civilisation a wild and barbarous people. Of late years there have been several such instances of a revival of the old dominant spirit, and the enterprise, the courage, and the endurance of the race—all those qualities which in past times have gone to make its annals glorious, and which are still needed to keep them so—have been amply developed. In Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley those qualities are all markedly displayed. By descent and by nature a soldier, he has had experience of danger and privation in many foreign lands—in China, in India, in the Crimea, and in Canada—and the unusually wide knowledge of his profession which he had acquired, in the varied services in which he had been engaged, made him signally fit for the position he was last chosen to occupy—that of the leader of an expedition into a country in which the human enemy was least dangerous among the many to be encountered. Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley is a young man to have been entrusted with the conduct of so large an enterprise. He was born in the June of the year 1833, at Golden Bridge House, County Dublin, and is the son of Major Wolseley of the 25th Regiment. He belongs to the Staffordshire family of Wolseleys, who have their seat at Rugeley, near the scene of the head-quarters camp of the Autumn Manœuvres of 1873; and his great-grandfather, Sir Richard Wolseley, was the first Irish baronet of the name. In 1852, in the nineteenth year of his age, he was appointed ensign in the 8th Regiment, and rapidly passing through the preliminary studies of his profession, was gazetted for foreign service in the same year. The scene of his first experience of war was Burmah, and he took a part in nearly all the engagements fought there during the latter part of 1852, and the earlier part of the following year.

On the 19th March, 1853, he volunteered for the command of a storming party at Naying Gounlya. An attempt to force the position occupied by the enemy had been previously made without success, but "Ensign Wolseley advanced in a manner which nothing could check" (to quote the language of the official despatch), and in company with Lieutenant Taylor, of the 9th Madras Native Infantry, rushed up the path leading to the breastwork. This pathway was so narrow that only two men could advance together. The two gallant young officers were in advance of the party they were leading, and each was eager to win the honour of being first within the breach. Lieutenant Taylor fell mortally wounded, and Ensign Wolseley at the same moment was struck on the left thigh by an iron jingall ball, and fell to the ground. Lying there he pressed the fingers of his left hand upon the severed veins and partially stanchied the bleeding, whilst with his right hand he still waved on his men. Some of them begged to be allowed to carry him to the rear, but he refused to go and still cheered them on until the position was carried. At the close of the engagement the wounded officer was attended by Assistant Surgeon Murphy, who applied a tourniquet to the wound, which for a long time was regarded with the gravest anxiety. For six months a soldier was in continual attendance upon the invalid, and when at length he had so far recovered as to allow of his being brought back to England, he was for some time compelled to use crutches. His youth and a good constitution eventually triumphed, and the cure of the wound was complete. This was his first success, notwithstanding the injury he received, and in the home despatches his name was very favourably mentioned, the commanding officer passing a high encomium upon his gallant conduct. On the outbreak of the Crimean War he was despatched to the scene of action with the 90th Light Infantry, and landed in the Crimea on the 5th of December, 1854. For some reasons best known to themselves, the military authorities had decided that the 90th should not be sent anywhere on active service until they had expended some time in the East Indies; and Lieutenant Wolseley was so anxious to serve in the Crimea that, in conjunction with several of his fellow-officers, he had volunteered to exchange into a corps before Sebastopol, when the pressing application of Lord Raglan for reinforcements decided the War Office to despatch Mr. Wolseley's regiment to the scene of action. Until the fall of Sebastopol, Mr. Wolseley, now promoted to the rank of captain, served in the trenches as an assistant engineer, and repeatedly distinguished himself by his cool and indomitable courage. An eminent officer of engineers described him as "the bravest man he had ever seen." After encountering innumerable dangers and privations, and enduring a hundred "hair-breadth 'scapes," Captain Wolseley was taken up for dead from among a heap of the slain and wounded on the night of the memorable 7th June, 1855. However he recovered, and in the next attack on the Russian ranks he was one of the officers chosen for the expedition. But it happened that Captain Dawson, who had that morning gone on duty for the first time, was killed in the trenches by a round shot, and Captain Wolseley was ordered to supply his place. He did so, and remained on duty during the whole of the day, which was occupied in work of an unusually arduous character. But though almost borne down by the fatigues of the day, he was once more at his post when the hour for the assault arrived. The service was one of terrible danger, and by a mishap Captain Wolseley, whose duty it was to effect a lateral communication between the quarries and the parallel in rear, began his work too soon, and was driven back with heavy losses, by an overwhelming force of the enemy. As morning approached the men were so overcome by fatigue and privation, that the utmost endeavours of the officers failed to keep them awake. A formidable body of Russian troops advanced on the British position, and about twenty English officers, among whom was Captain Wolseley, supported by not more than forty non-commissioned officers and privates, were left to resist their attack. This gallant little body faced the masses of the enemy

boldly, and sent out a hearty cheer, keeping up meanwhile such a fire as they best could. The Russians, remembering the warm reception which they had before received, wavered and turned. The handful of officers and men redoubled their efforts, and at last had the satisfaction of seeing the opposing forces drawn off, scared by the dauntless front presented to them. Captain Wolseley was so utterly fatigued by his exertions, and by the loss of blood ensuing from a wound on the leg, that he fell at the close of the action upon a heap of dead and wounded, and himself lay as one dead. A friend of the 98th Regiment found him there, and half carried and half supported him over two miles of rugged and broken ground. At last Major Maxwell, who was mounted, desisted them and gave the wounded man his horse, on which he was, with the help of his comrade, borne back to the tents. During the whole period between this event and his landing he had attracted the favourable notice of his superiors in command, and was frequently mentioned in the despatches. There are not a few men who after an experience of this kind would be of opinion that they had seen almost enough of foreign service, but Sir Garnet Wolseley was not one of these. Going out with the 90th Regiment to China on board H.M. Ship *Transit*, he was wrecked in the Straits of Banca, and was exposed to some danger. He served during the Indian Mutiny in 1857—58—59, and was present at the relief of Lucknow, and at the gallant defence of Alumbagh by Outram. He also fought through the siege and capture of Lucknow, and in many of those tragic and terrible scenes which Europe watched with so breathless an interest, he bore his part—always, it would seem from the records afforded by the despatches, in a gallant and soldierly way. When, afterwards, the Oudh campaign became a necessity of Indian policy, Sir Garnet held the position of Quartermaster-General to Sir Hope Grant's forces, and was present at the action of Bareilly, and at the numerous other engagements which took place during the war. His experience as Quartermaster-General was of immense service to him, and followed up as it was by a similar appointment in China, and another in Canada, served largely to fit him for the conduct of the two expeditions upon which his fame as a leader now rests. He served throughout the Chinese War on the Quartermaster-General's staff, and was present at the storming of the Taku forts. He afterwards published a book on the subject of the Chinese War, which considerably enhanced his reputation among military men.

At the close of the Chinese War, England found herself at peace for a time, and her soldiers found breathing-space after the long stretch of foreign warfare recently experienced. In 1867, Sir Garnet Wolseley was married to Miss Louisa Erskine. The post of Quartermaster-General to Her Majesty's Forces in Canada being offered to him in the following year, he accepted it, and at once went over to Canada, where events shortly transpired which brought him for the first time prominently before the public eye.

In the year 1869, his experiences found an active and useful result in the publication of a book entitled "The Soldier's Pocket Book for Field Service." There are few things more indicative of character than a book on a professional subject written by a member of the profession. The reader can but infer from the perusal of the work now under notice, that Sir Garnet Wolseley is heart and soul a soldier. He unites in a very noticeable way the two great soldierly requisites of method and dash. The first of these characteristics is exemplified in a marked manner in the fashion in which the subject-matter of his book is arranged, which is in the highest degree methodical. It is complete in its detail, and has relation to almost every possible requirement of the officer after the declaration of war. It has none of the graces of literature, and makes no pretence to have them. It is such a book as one might expect from the hands of a soldier. Its tone is essentially military. It reads from beginning to end like a

series of extracts from the Order Book. There is no fine language employed—there is scarcely a simile anywhere. The author goes about his business in a straightforward, soldierly, dogmatic way, which is perfectly refreshing. Everything is ordered with the utmost precision and completeness, and it is somewhat difficult to see what information—in addition to that afforded by the technical mastery of his profession—any young officer suddenly ordered on foreign service could require, beyond this admirable handbook. Its value has been recognised from the first in military circles, and the recent successes of its author will doubtless give it a greater and more extended authority still.

That faculty for the endurance of privation which Sir Garnet afterwards displayed, is very characteristically shown in one scornful passage in his book, in which condemning the practice of carrying weighty kits, and of encumbering the regimental baggage with extra stores for the convenience of officers, he says: “Messing is always a difficult matter, for English officers will carry their preconceived notions of comfort into the field with them. They must learn to live as much like the private soldier as possible, and officers commanding battalions should positively forbid the conveyance of private stores with the regimental baggage. As has been stated before, all future campaigns must be of short duration, and any officer who cannot make up his mind to live upon the same fare as the men, had better remain at home with his mother.” The whole book, in fact, breathes the same Spartan spirit of contempt for discomfort. The soldier of Sir Garnet Wolseley’s order “scorns delight, and lives laborious days” after a fashion scarcely contemplated by Milton when he wrote that line.

At the time at which this volume appeared, Sir Garnet Wolseley held the post of Deputy Quartermaster-General in Canada. The date of its publication was 1869, and in the May of 1870 its author was called to put into practice its maxims, in the conduct of the Red River Expedition. In the year 1813, Lord Alexander Selkirk obtained from the Hudson’s Bay Company a grant of a small tract near the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. The little settlement, which was for some years known by the name of its founder, afterwards received the title “The Red River Settlement,” and for some years led a very precarious existence. The neighbourhood of Indians was a fruitful and continual source of annoyance and danger to the settlers, and the interests of the place suffered considerably from constant quarrels of the Hudson’s Bay, and North-west Companies, until their amalgamation in 1822. In spite, however, of all these difficulties, the Scotch emigrants brought hither by Lord Selkirk thrived and prospered, and spread themselves along the banks of both rivers. At the time at which the *émeute* that rendered home interference necessary broke out, the settlement had grown to include some 15,000 people. In 1867 the Act for the confederation of British North American provinces came into operation, and in consideration of the sum of £300,000, “The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson’s Bay” agreed to give up all interest in the vast tract of land conveyed to it by royal charter in the time of Charles II., with the exception of certain lands in the immediate vicinity of the company’s trading ports. The Canadian Government, eager to take possession of a district so rich and promising, sent out its provisional Governor, Mr. William McDougall, to take possession according to the terms of the treaty. But the transfer of the land had been made without any appeal to the feelings of the people of the country, and some of the French half-breed settlers considered themselves aggrieved by the change. A number of these, placing themselves under the lead of a man named Louis Riel, stopped the surveying companies of the Dominion, and ejected them from the settlement. They also on the arrival of the Governor refused to allow him entrance to the district he was sent to rule. They

established a small armed force, and set up what they were pleased to call "Le Comité National des Métis de la Rivière Rouge;" elected John Bruce, a French half-breed, as president; and appointed Louis Riel as national secretary. Riel was however, in point of fact, the leading spirit; and he, after a brief space of time, deposed Bruce and announced himself as president. It is hinted in the histories of this disturbance, that the company was somewhat disposed to support the insurrectionary party; but if this were really so, the impolicy of such a course was soon made clear by the action of the self-appointed "President." He seized Fort Garry, and establishing himself there, administered affairs with the company's money, and fed his army with the company's supplies. Mr. McDougall, at the time appointed for him to enter upon the Governorship of the settlement, went into the North-west Territory and took formal possession. There was no one to oppose him, but he soon found that Riel was not inclined to yield to the influence of so mere a ceremony. The ejected Governor raised an armed force which was quite inefficient to the purposes for which it was required, and it disbanded in deference to the wishes of the more influential among the British settlers, without a blow having been struck. Mr. McDougall, returning to Canada, was severely blamed, though on what grounds it would now be somewhat difficult to determine. Meanwhile Louis Riel, left to himself, and intoxicated with his temporary power, played all manner of mad and offensive pranks with the people whose government he had assumed. He imprisoned many of the British residents, sentenced to death several, whom he was afterwards graciously pleased to "pardon," and finally filled up the measure of his follies and his crimes, by the mock trial and cold-blooded murder of Thomas Scott. This roused the authorities of the Dominion, and everywhere throughout Canada the utmost indignation was expressed. It was decided without delay to fit out and despatch an expedition against this usurper of authority. General Lindsay arrived in Canada precisely in time to take this question in hand, and he at once appointed Colonel Wolseley to the command of the expedition. Its preparation was surrounded with difficulties, not the least serious of which was the fact that the Volunteer regiments, especially in Quebec, were only enrolled with great trouble and delay, the clergy in many of the parishes of Lower Canada publicly dissuading their flocks from joining a regiment "about to be sent to fight against their brethren in the North-west." The passage of troops through the United States territory was, of course, out of the question, and it accordingly became necessary to find a road through the British possessions. The greater portion of the route was thus of necessity of a rugged and dangerous nature. Beyond Lake Superior lay a reach of country 600 miles in length, which was only to be traversed by water; and the wild rivers and scarcely navigable lakes through which the journey lay had hitherto never been traversed except by the birch canoe of the Indian. In addition to the almost unheard-of difficulties of the route, this expedition had to encounter the concealed opposition of many of the inhabitants of the country through which it was destined to pass. There was a very general sympathy expressed in many quarters for "President" Riel and the Provisional Government, and the usurper's countrymen had it often in their power to annoy and retard the expedition which had been sent out to dispossess him. The whole history of this expedition lies in the difficulties encountered in the way, and in those which surrounded the organisation of the troops. An admirable history of the whole adventure has been written by Captain Huyshe,* who describes with great vigour and force the troubles and

* This gallant officer, who afterwards accompanied Sir Garnet Wolseley to the Gold Coast, compiled, whilst on the way from England, a very useful account of the country and of the Ashantees. He conducted the topographical surveys as far as the river Prah. He died on the 19th December at Prah-su.

privations experienced by the troops throughout this expedition. In the course of his narrative, he pays a high tribute to Sir Garnet Wolseley (to whom, by the way, his book is dedicated), and says of him that he had won the confidence and love of his men by his peculiar aptitude for command, and by "his happy admixture of the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*." The chief perils of the journey now undertaken lay in the passage of the rapids. Colonel Wolseley's boat is everywhere spoken of as being foremost in these passages, and indeed all the officers of the expedition appear positively to have revelled in the exciting and dangerous nature of the method of travelling which they were compelled to adopt. President Riel at first refused to credit the news of the advance of so considerable a force as that despatched against him. The advance being conclusively proved, however, he determined to stay and fight the question out, but was deserted by his men, and compelled to seek safety in flight. Sir Garnet Wolseley accordingly occupied Fort Garry without striking a blow. Peace was soon made with the remainder of the disaffected residents of the settlement. The Governor appointed by the Dominion was allowed to settle in quietness and comfort, and right rule and supremacy were restored. Riel was not pursued, Sir Garnet refusing to allow his men to act as police; and the ex-President pursued his way to his native village, where he arrived hungry and barefooted. As a recognition of the manner in which he had conducted this expedition, Sir Garnet was created a K.C.M.G., and he subsequently had conferred upon him, in consideration of this and former services, the order of the Companionship of the Bath. The troubles of administration were unusually great, and the courage and skill which succeeded in surmounting the difficulties that surrounded the journey of the expedition from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry, naturally pointed out Sir Garnet Wolseley as the man to conduct the expedition to Coomassie when, three years later, the question of European supremacy on the Gold Coast became imminent.

That supremacy the native chiefs had always been disposed to resist, and it must be acknowledged that the white rulers had not always adopted the surest means of conciliation. The Ashantees, a strong and warlike people, had for the last century and a half been consistently developing their military resources, and succeeded long since in subduing the weaker tribes in their neighbourhood—the Assins, the Akims, the Denkiras, and the Wassaws. Of late years they have made repeated endeavours to annex the Fantee districts lying seaward. The Fantees, divided among themselves, and among themselves warring continually, had established on either side a sort of claim to the protection of the English and Dutch settlers on the coast. The Fantees made partisans of the European settlers, and fought vigorously on their own special views of Dutch and English questions, without the representatives of those nations taking any part or interest whatever in the struggle. There were ground rents claimed by the savage potentates inland for the site of European factories and forts, and these claims, though never officially admitted, were yet never authoritatively denied. The sum was a trifling one, and the Dutch had always paid it; but when in 1872 the Dutch settlements were transferred to the possession of Great Britain, the claim was disputed and denied. As a consequence the Ashantees came down in armed force to extort these taxes, and a large part of the Fantee region was ravaged during the whole spring and part of the summer of 1873. At last the English settlements were threatened. Cape Coast Castle and Elmina were in actual danger from our swarthy enemy, and it became evident that, unless the home authorities made some decided interference, the lives of many British subjects would be sacrificed. This was by no means the first occasion on which the Ashantees had come into collision with the British power. But so far their experience of English warfare had not been of a nature to inspire them with any

great awe of us. They had been played with and temporised with, until they appear to have arrived at the conclusion that there was nothing to fear from the English. In 1863, when the quarrel had grown chronic, and had again and again been renewed in a feeble and unworthy way for the past thirty or forty years, Captain Pine, then on the Gold Coast, appealed to the Colonial Minister of the day to strike a final blow at the Ashantee power, entreating that he would consider the policy, the economy, and even the mercy, of transporting to these shores an army of such strength as would, combined with the allied native forces, enable us to march to Coomassie and there plant the British flag. That appeal met with no efficient answer, and Captain Pine was left to move with such forces as he had at immediate command. He was without hospital accommodation; his men fell sick, and the expedition he had planned under circumstances so unfavourable resulted in a disastrous failure, which was perhaps not without its useful lesson to the observant and enterprising leader who took up the question ten years later.

With a foresight the wisdom of which was demonstrated by its result, Sir Garnet Wolseley went out to Cape Coast Castle with his staff three months before the date of the arrival of the British troops, and thereby mastered many of the difficulties which would otherwise have beset him. Sir Garnet's staff included Colonel Greaves, as chief; Major Baker, adjutant-general; Captain Huyshe, assistant quartermaster-general; Captain Brackenbury, R.A.; Lieutenant Maurice, R.A., private secretary; Captain Lanyon; Lieutenant Hon. H. Wood; Surgeon Home, C.B.; Dr. Turton, and other officers. The perilous nature of the expedition may be inferred from the fact that out of the staff of thirty officers eight died either from wounds or sickness, whilst there were but two who were not at one time or other dangerously ill. But little was known or could be known beforehand of the route. Not many white men had travelled to Coomassie, and still fewer had returned, and the testimony of the natives was only in very rare cases to be relied upon. What little knowledge we had of the people spoke them intelligent and warlike, and Coomassie was believed to be a city of strange barbaric pomp. The exaggerated rumours which prevailed were rudely dissipated, although the actual aspect of the place was sufficiently strange, and some of its manners and customs were more than sufficiently romantic. The "death-drum," decorated with human bones, skin, and hair, was borne in public by an officer of the highest rank, and there were few noises of public interest more frequent in Coomassie than the sound of that instrument. The city was many miles in circuit. It had its open squares and market-places, and was not without the advantages of a primitive commerce. The handicraft-men of the country—weavers, goldsmiths, cutlers, potters, and other artisans—exhibited their wares here; and Moorish pedlars and native merchants from the coast brought articles which gave variety to the market. The religion of the Ashantees is the most horrible conceivable. Before the grand altar of their terrible gods stands a huge brazen vessel, about five feet in diameter, which is sometimes, after a great day of sacrifice, filled to the brim with human blood. There is nothing about the expedition more satisfactory than the fact that these dreadful orgies of cruelty and superstition have been, at least, somewhat checked by the stipulations forced upon the savage potentate by the British leader.

Sir Garnet's first care was to sweep the country round Elmina clear of the Ashantee forces, which were still hovering in the neighbourhood after the cowardly and treacherous attack they had made on Commodore Commerell in the preceding August. By December the whole of the wide district under the British protectorate was freed from the presence of the foe, a step ~~which was absolutely necessary~~ to be gained before the advance on the Ashantee

capital could with any degree of safety be made. The terrible character of the climate made it imperative that the time consumed in these introductory operations should be short, and that the final blow should be sharp, rapid, and decisive. The preparations against the climate were complete and thorough, and the wisdom displayed in this one matter had probably more influence than was exercised by any other part of the plan of the campaign in bringing about a prosperous termination of the enterprise. The difficult and hazardous route along which he had led the Red River Expedition, had taught Sir Garnet Wolseley that the cumbrous dress ordinarily worn by the British soldier is eminently unfitted for the kind of work its wearer would have to go through either in the long and arduous "portages" of the Canadian lakes, or the deadly jungles of the Gold Coast, and on this point also the most admirable arrangements were made. Lord Derby remarked of the Ashantee Expedition that it would be "a doctors' and engineers' war." The wisdom and executive genius of Sir Garnet Wolseley justified this saying. In spite of all fear to the contrary, the health of the troops, favoured by the precautions taken by their commanding officer, was remarkably good. The deadly forest was passed almost in safety, the crafty and courageous enemy was beaten at all points, and on the last day of January, 1874, the final blow at the enemy's capital was successfully made, and the British standard was planted in the midst of the smoking ruins of that centre of barbarism. Before this consummation was brought about, the troops had fought many battles with the brave and cunning warriors against whom they were despatched. The names of Essaman, Dunquah, Abrokampra, and Fasamah are not to be forgotten when the valour of British soldiers is spoken of. The warfare of the bush and the jungle is an especially "nervous business," and many troops who in the open field would have fought bravely, might well have been cowed in the presence of an invisible enemy, who could find a shelter behind every shrub, and who, concealed from discovery, might at any moment take advantage of the cover of the forest to send death into the unresisting ranks of the white invader. All the engagements above mentioned were fought south of the river Prah; and even when that rubicon was crossed, the battles of Amoafu, Adumassie, and Insufar remained to be contested before the plucky and determined British commander set foot in the capital of that savage dominion. The conduct of the troops throughout the whole march from the coast was admirable. When their cowardly and useless allies the Fantees fell away as they did by hundreds, the 42nd Royal Highlanders positively volunteered to act as bearers themselves, and even performed the duty for a day or two. The men of the Rifle Brigade and of the 23rd Regiment followed this example, and the men of the last-named corps were so eager to get to the front that they offered to go on half-rations, as well as to carry stores with their own kits. Everywhere the enthusiastic, soldierly, and self-denying example of their chief inspired the men, and the feeling thus indicated was kept up without intermission from first to last.

Sir Garnet Wolseley's brilliant career had not gone unrewarded before the performance of his last exploit. He was already entitled to wear the Pegu, the Crimean, the Turkish, and the Indian medals; he was a Knight of the Legion of Honour, of the Medjidie, of St. Michael and St. George. On his return from the Gold Coast he was created a G.C.M.G. and a K.C.B., and the sister Universities did honour to themselves by adding to his honourable distinctions; Cambridge conferring upon him the degree of LL.D., and Oxford that of D.C.L. Later on, the University of Dublin conferred upon him the duplicate degree of LL.D. There is probably no member of the community who did not congratulate him upon the position he occupied in what may be called the final spectacle of the Ashantee Expedition—the Review at Windsor, when Her Majesty herself signified her approval of the manner in which he had fulfilled the trust imposed upon him.



Shirley



THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

THE Right Honourable Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, is the seventh bearer of the title, which was first given to a certain stirring Sir Anthony Ashley, who made himself noticeable in the Cromwellian days, by raising that body of "Clubmen" which on the 4th of August, 1645, was dispersed from a height near Shaftesbury by Cromwell's forces. Sir Anthony was one of those who worked to bring about the Stuart Restoration, and his signature is at the foot of the document in which the second Charles was requested by the gentry of England to return and assume the throne. Charles, being once firmly seated, rewarded Sir Anthony for many services by creating him Earl of Shaftesbury. The third Earl was also a man who left his mark, although in a quieter fashion than his predecessor—choosing the world of literature rather than of politics, and leaving behind him books which are still regarded as authoritative.

The present Earl was born on the 28th of April, in the year 1801. He began his education at Harrow, and went thence to Christ Church College, Oxford, where he took a first class in classics in 1822, graduating B.A. in 1832. In 1841 his old university acknowledged its sense of the honour his career had done it, by conferring upon him the degree of D.C.L.

Like many others among our hereditary law-makers, Lord Ashley served a long apprenticeship to the art of government in the House of Commons. He sat first for Woodstock, for which borough he was returned in 1826, avowing himself a disciple of the school of Liverpool and Canning, and attaching himself to their Governments. In the Administration of the Duke of Wellington he occupied office as one of the Commissioners of the Board of Control. In 1830, when the question of the great Reform Bill first began to agitate Parliament, and when Earl Grey formed that memorable Cabinet in which Mr. Brougham held office as Lord Chancellor, Lord Ashley was returned for Dorchester. That year was remarkable for the most extraordinary scene which has taken place in the House of Commons since the 5th of June, 1628, when, as Thomas Alured relates, "Sir Thomas Philips of Somersetshire spake, and mingled his words with weeping. Mr. Pym did the like. Sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, by the abundance of tears. Yea, the Speaker in his speech could not refrain from weeping and shedding of tears." The event which took place in the House two centuries later, though not fraught with results so tragic, or marked by an agitation so intense, was sufficiently stirring in itself and important in its results. So wild was the excitement of the time, that it is soberly written in history, that ladies looking on at the proceedings in the House of Lords were terrified, "thinking that the Peers would actually come to blows." In the midst of a scene of wild confusion, the King himself appeared. In the tumult raised by the excited speech of Sir Robert Peel, the summons of the Sergeant-at-Arms remained unheard. But quiet was at length restored, and His Majesty in person dissolved the Parliament. In the general election which

followed, Lord Ashley was returned for Dorsetshire, in which county a great and general distress at that time prevailed. In other parts of the country also the people were on the very edge of absolute starvation, and "agricultural labourers were found starved to death, having tried in vain to support nature with sorrel and other like food." From a scale issued by the magistrates of the Stourbridge division, according to which relief was to be administered, it appears that the total income of the average labourer enabled him in all to purchase rather more than a pound of bread per day, without allowing anything whatever for the other necessities of life—fuel, housing, clothing, or drink. It is not to be wondered at that under these circumstances Lord Ashley retired in 1845 from his seat, professing himself no longer able to resist the urgent necessity for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Before this he had, in the year 1841, refused to accept office under Sir Robert Peel, because that politician would not give his support to the Ten Hours Bill, the measure upon which Lord Ashley's claim to remembrance as a member of the Lower House chiefly rests. It was the question to which, during his occupation of a seat in that Chamber, he principally devoted himself; and its final success was a worthy inauguration of that series of philanthropic movements and social reforms with which the name of the Earl of Shaftesbury is now connected in the public mind.

The question was not raised by Lord Ashley for the first time; it had been before the attention of philanthropic and thoughtful men since the third year of this century, when Sir Robert Peel had carried a measure to provide for the care and education of the apprentices who were sent down to Lancashire in large loads from the workhouses of London. That measure, well-intentioned as it was, and operating as it did in favour of the very limited class for whom it was intended, had but little effect upon the general condition of the factory hands of the great cotton manufacturing county, and twenty-three years later Sir John Hobhouse passed a Bill for the regulation of the hours of labour in cotton mills. This Bill had especial relation to the practice of night-work in particular departments, and was of much service to the operatives. Even at an earlier time than this Mr. Nathaniel Gould had pressed upon the mill-owners the necessity which existed for ameliorating the condition of the children employed by them. But, like all other social movements, this progressed but slowly and in a feeble and intermittent way until it attracted the attention of the general public, who by their support gave the required weight and warranty to the few philanthropists who were disposed to take the question in hand.

In 1830, Mr. Michael Thomas Sadler brought it once more before the consideration of the House of Commons, whilst outside he found earnest and able coadjutors in Mr. Oastler, Mr. Walker, the Rev. Mr. Bull, and Mr. John Wood. The latter was a worsted spinner at Bradford, and knew the evil working of the system which then prevailed, not from mere report, but from personal observation. He was a man of high integrity and great benevolence, and was of especial service in agitating for the required reform. In 1833, when the one Parliamentary champion of the cause lost his seat, Lord Ashley took his place. Mr. Sadler's labour had not been altogether in vain. He had at least smoothed the way for his successor by obtaining a Commission on the question, the result of whose inquiries opened the eyes both of the Parliament and the public to the horrors of the system it was desired to remove. In the preface to a volume of speeches published by him in 1868, the Earl of Shaftesbury offers generous tribute to the efforts of those who preceded him in this good work, and gives a very summarised history of the various phases through which the movement passed. The second reading of the Bill presented by Lord Ashley in 1833 passed without opposition, but in its progress through committee a most important clause was omitted, and his lordship, feeling himself unable to conduct the measure through the House as a private member, laid it in the hands

of the Government, who succeeded in passing it in a very modified, and indeed an almost mutilated form. It fell far short of what its promoters desired, and they were too much in earnest to allow the matter to sleep.

Lord Ashley in his place in the House renewed the question in 1838, but without any appreciable result. Six years later, however, it came once more to the front, and was so vigorously pressed that it assumed proportions large enough to threaten the fate of a Ministry. The question is now so utterly conceded, that it comes upon the reader as a surprise when he learns the bitterness with which Lord Ashley's modest and beneficent scheme was met. All that was contended for was a limitation of the time of labour for women and children to ten hours. Notwithstanding the revelations of the Commission granted in answer to the appeal of Mr. Sadler, the Ministry of Earl Grey opposed this claim by every means in its power. Twice, in spite of the opposition of the Government, Lord Ashley carried with him a majority of the House. Earl Grey threatened to hand in his resignation unless the vote of the House were rescinded, but at the same time expressed the willingness of the Government to accede to a measure which should limit the daily time of labour for women and children to twelve hours. Not feeling himself justified in pressing his case to an extremity, Lord Ashley accepted the *ultimatum* offered. The clauses objected to by the Ministry were altered to meet their views, and the Bill passed into law. Even by its now restricted powers it effected many alterations of importance. It changed the age of children admitted to work in factories from nine to eight; diminished the working hours of children under thirteen years of age to six-and-a-half hours; extended the time during which they were to be under daily instruction in schools from two to two-and-a-half hours in winter, and three hours in summer; continued the limitation of the labour of persons between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day, and applied the same limitation to the labour of women; called for the production of a certificate of baptism, if demanded, to prove that the child was really of the age required by the law; lowered the amount of fines imposed for the violation of the law, but inflicted them for each person improperly worked, instead of for each offence, which might include several persons; and also required that the machinery should be guarded to prevent accidents. It is a matter for wonder that a measure of this mild and humane cast should have been so strongly opposed by any modern English Ministry, but the feeling of the House of Commons and the general temper of the people made it evident that the question would never be regarded as finally settled until at least the demands of Lord Ashley and his supporters were conceded. The principal promoter of the good cause in Parliament was not only opposed by the Government, but was personally assailed by many of its supporters, who strove to strengthen the hands of an obstinate minority by the free employment of scandal and slander with respect to the leader of the majority. It was not, however, a difficult matter for Lord Ashley to live down the calumnies of his opponents and to triumph over them.

But the work was not even yet completed, and many patient years of labour had still to be spent by the advocates of the cause. Lord Palmerston in the year 1868, when holding the office of Secretary of State for the Home Department, gave the project a helping hand, and introduced a measure which went far to complete the sparse enactment of his predecessors. So recently as the year 1862 the Earl of Shaftesbury applied for a renewal of the Parliamentary Commission already alluded to, and asked for an inquiry into the condition of children engaged in trades not protected by the Factory Acts.

In the year 1842, Lord Ashley introduced a Bill for which the way had been paved by a long and careful inquiry, and by a strong feeling of astonishment and indignation in the public mind at the horrors which that investigation had revealed. The measure related to the employment

of women and children in mines and collieries, and it was reported by the Commission for which Lord Ashley had moved, that infants of seven, six, and even four years of age were employed in performing the work of actual beasts of burden, whilst the hours of labour for women—the labour itself being of a most unsuitable and degrading character—were fourteen and sixteen hours a day. Even these hours were not unfrequently exceeded; and the whole question was surrounded by a moral atmosphere indescribably foul. By Lord Ashley's Bill the employment of women in these places was absolutely forbidden, and it was enacted that no children under the age of fourteen years should be engaged. The hours of work were brought within decent limits, and the iniquitous system of pauper apprenticeship was done away with.

A social injury or injustice appears always to have had an attraction for Lord Ashley, and to have at once enlisted all his combative feelings and faculties. In the year 1843 his attention was attracted to the tremendous mischief wrought by the opium traffic among the inhabitants of our Eastern possessions, and among the people of China. With his customary thoroughness and earnestness, he made himself master of the question, and on the evening of the 4th of April, in a lengthy and exhaustive speech, he laid before the House of Commons the whole miserable story of the opium trade. Those "vested interests" which in one form or other play so prominent a part in the speech of electioneering politicians, were too strongly established to be overthrown by the plainest and broadest statement of fact, and beyond the enlightenment of a section of the public no immediate object was gained. Amongst other well-authenticated statements made in the course of this speech, was one which showed with great distinctness the damage done even to the trading interests of the nation by this mistaken traffic. From the official account of the value and quantity of cargoes imported into Canton and Macao, it appeared that in the years 1817—18 the value of imported opium was £737,775, that of imported cotton and sundries being £2,032,625. In the years 1827—28 the amount of imported opium had been very nearly multiplied by four, whilst the importation of cotton and other useful articles had dwindled to £1,150,537, or little more than half. Still later returns showed a continued increase on the one hand, and a corresponding decrease on the other. The speech in which Lord Ashley laid this statement before the House was replete with fact, and was not wanting in generous and impassioned appeal.

In the same year he laid before the House a motion on the subject of education, and here again it became his duty to attack oppression and corruption, and to expose the doings of many who ground down the faces of the poor. He pointed out that there were at that time no fewer than 1,014,193 children capable of education, but under no educational influence. He also pointed out that, in the county of Lancaster alone, the annual expenditure for the punishment of crime was £604,965, while the annual vote for education in all England was £30,000. The address prepared by Lord Ashley was accepted, and an answer favourable to it was delivered at the bar of the House by the Earl of Jermyn.

Through all the Parliamentary work in which he was engaged at this time ran one and the same purpose, and to that purpose his whole life now appeared to be dedicated. The calls upon his time and attention outside the House were not less urgent or imperative than those which addressed him from within its walls. His elevation to the Peerage on the death of his father, in the year 1851, did not in his case, as it has done in so many others, serve to take him from the public view. His claim to public attention had been always more of a social than a political nature, and his removal from the busy arena of the House of Commons to the quieter sphere of the Lords did but leave him with more time, more freedom, and more influence for the public service. His promise as a politician was not inconsiderable. The list of offices with which he had been entrusted shows

clearly enough that in the opinion of the leaders of his party he was qualified to take a prominent part in public business. Whilst he sat as the representative of an open constituency in the Lower House he held the following posts:—From 1820 to 1830 he was a Commissioner of the Board of Control; in 1834—35 he was one of the Lords of the Admiralty; and in the years 1841—47 he was a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission.

With the exception of the achievements already chronicled, his political sayings and doings have for the greater part been lost sight of, in the interest inspired by his acts and his utterances as a professed philanthropist. Since the death of his father, the Earl of Shaftesbury has been continually before the public as the leader, and in some cases the originator, of movements which have had for their scope and object the elevation of the people—the relief of poverty and misery, the spread of education, and the general advancement of morality and religion.

Politicians frequently point with just feelings of gratulation to the peaceable political revolution which has taken place in England within the past forty-two years. Whilst surrounding nations are still in the birth-pangs of liberty, England, by the happy constitution of her people, and the wisdom of her people's leaders and governors, has arrived at a point of public freedom never before known in the history of civilisation. But the social revolution which has also taken place is not less noteworthy or less surprising. More than half that very machinery of social reform with which men work in these days had yet, when the Earl of Shaftesbury entered upon his early public career, to be created. It is not altogether to the national credit that our criminal classes should still be so numerically strong, or so rapidly recruited; but though the great light of social progress creeps up very slowly, it still does palpably rise higher and higher, in spite of the mournful opinions expressed by many of our leading men at this time. It is undeniable that a great deal of the crime perpetrated by the population of our towns and cities, was as directly caused by the existing conditions of society as it was directly punished by the law. There is a class of relentless theorists whose members would, after the fashion of Dickens' famous alderman, "put down" all manifestations of evil disposition in the multitude, in preference to setting up before their darkened eyes a better hope than has hitherto declared itself. But there are more enlightened reformers who, moved by love rather than by law, have learned the secret reason why poverty and vice are so often found hand in hand; who know how inevitably the foul air, and fouler influences, amongst which the poor of our great cities spend their lives, act upon the criminal statistics of the country. And these men have made it their aim to deter from vice less by severity of punishment for vice committed, than by the destruction of the seeds from which it certainly springs. Their work has prospered, and they deserve to stand high—as they do—in the love and honour of their countrymen, for the loyal and devoted fashion in which, through no small share of obloquy and contempt, they have held their hands to the task to which they have once devoted themselves. It was more in the spirit of the new than of the old school of lawgivers that the Earl of Shaftesbury's Juvenile Mendicancy Bill was framed, when it was brought before the House of Lords in the session of 1853. This Bill was, in a very large measure, the product of the public feeling of the time. The journals of the day again and again insisted upon the necessity of action—but none of them had anything to advise. The *Times* in a leading article written at this date said: "It has come to pass that you will encounter more beggars, of one sort or another, in a walk from Westminster Abbey to Oxford Street, than you will in a tour from London to Switzerland, whether you go by Paris or by the Rhine." This unpleasant statement was followed by the inevitable reflection: "As surely as the tadpole will change into the frog, the little fellow who now pursues you the length

of a street will one day pick your pocket, and be a frequent charge on the county rate, and the national exchequer."

Lord Shaftesbury's Bill was received by the Peers with every sign of favour, and it was spoken of in high terms by Lord Brougham, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Grey, and Lord Campbell. But it met with considerable difficulties, and was for some time believed to be opposed by the Poor Law Commissioners. Another Bill having the same object was at the same time brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Adderley. Public attention was now thoroughly excited, and a conference largely and influentially attended was held in London, and the question discussed in all its bearings. A similar gathering, at which the Earl of Shaftesbury and Sir John Pakington played the principal parts, was held at Birmingham; and the result of this ventilation of the matter was, that it was thought advisable to withdraw the measures before the Legislature, and attempt to influence the Government to take up the cause as one of national importance. A deputation was accordingly appointed to wait upon Lord Palmerston, who promised to give the matter his earliest attention, and shortly afterwards introduced a measure "for the better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in Great Britain." The principal effect of the passing of this Act was, that the reformatories established by philanthropical effort in various parts of the kingdom were, more distinctly than heretofore, recognised by the Government, and were aided from the national funds. Some fear was expressed that, since they had thus fallen under Government patronage, they might possibly be neglected by their earlier patrons, and the Earl of Shaftesbury was very earnest in his appeals to those who had hitherto assisted to support these institutions not to withdraw their aid. The benevolent action of the measure introduced by Lord Palmerston is now on all hands recognised, but it must be said that the chief merit of the Act belongs to the Earl of Shaftesbury, who, at a time when all admitted and deplored the existing state of things, was the first to discover and attempt to apply the remedy.

The one movement which has more than any other brought the name of the Earl of Shaftesbury before the public is that of the Ragged School Union, an association which had a small and not very promising beginning in the year 1843. As Lord Ashley, he consented to become the president of the new Union; and he has held the office ever since, presiding year after year at its annual meetings, travelling here and there to assist in the development of its idea, and lending all his influence to its cause. The religious literature of the time at which this movement was inaugurated is full of strange revelations of the social life of those classes amongst whom it was proposed to labour, and the amount of practical good effected by Ragged Schools in our great towns is altogether beyond calculation. Much no doubt yet remains to be done; but the dreadful condition of things which was thirty years ago habitual to the back slums of London is now become exceptional. The Ragged School has paved the way for the Board School which is now partially supplanting it. Lord Shaftesbury foresaw this when in 1871 he wrote: "It is not my intention to institute any comparison of the past with the future system—of what is going out with what is coming in. The death of one and the life of the other stand both of them in the list of the inevitables. My only prayer—and it is a very humble one—is that the interval between the close of the old effort and the beginning of the new may not be attended with a heart-sickening recurrence of suffering and degradation." There was at this time cause for fear. The public, upon whose constant support the Ragged School movement entirely relied, were beginning to look forward to the introduction of a rate-aided system of education, and were consequently growing careless about the old method which it was evidently destined to supersede. Lord Shaftesbury's appeal was handsomely responded to, but more than once the Ragged School movement has been in serious difficulties. At

one time, when the recognised organ of the Union published, in large type, a document headed "The Earl of Shaftesbury's Appeal," it seems that the Association had a balance of six shillings only at the bank.

During its whole history the Ragged School Union may almost be said to have owed its existence to the efforts and influence of Lord Shaftesbury, whose actual work in connection with its affairs was for many years as constant, and as hard, as that of any paid advocate could possibly have been. Through it all he was very nobly seconded by Lady Shaftesbury, whose death in the year 1872 drew forth many expressions of condolence and regard, notably one from Her Majesty the Queen. During the whole forty-two years of married life, Lady Shaftesbury, who was the eldest daughter of Earl Cowper, joined with her husband in his crusade against ignorance and vice; and the Ragged School Union, and another movement which sprang out of it, enlisted her special sympathy and regard.

That other movement was the establishment of the Shoe-black Brigade. The idea was mooted at a meeting of Ragged School delegates, and was put into practice on a small scale without delay. The first day's staff consisted of five boys, but others were rapidly induced to join, and hundreds of lads were put into a position where honesty and cleanliness were at least placed within their reach. The managers of the Brigade and of the Schools worked the two projects together with very good results, and the new plan was as heartily supported by Lord Shaftesbury as the old. Among other schemes put in action was one of emigration, a number of the more trustworthy and intelligent among the poor lads of London being sent out to Canada, where a public movement was immediately set on foot for their bestowal, and where most of them have since turned out well. The Earl of Shaftesbury was present at the valedictory meeting with this small party of young emigrants, and bade them God-speed in a genial speech.

The class amongst whom he has chiefly laboured have not been able to make any large palpable return for his services, but they have on several occasions displayed their gratitude by a presentation, whose market worth would not well express the value set upon it by its recipient. One of these presentations consisted of an address of thanks, subscribed by 1,700 names, and another of a crayon portrait of himself, photographed copies of which have since been extensively published. Another of these gifts was a picture, in which the unrecognised and half-starved Arab of the streets is contrasted with a member of the Shoe-black Brigade.

Before leaving this part of his lordship's work, it may be interesting to allude to the statistics quoted in the House of Lords by Lord Morley, in proof of the good effected by the movements of which we have spoken. In 1843, before the Ragged School Union was formed, there were 4,488 criminals sentenced to transportation or penal servitude out of a population of 16,300,000. In 1869 there were but 2,006 sentenced to penal servitude—transportation having been abolished—out of a population of 21,900,000. It will thus be seen that while the population had risen in the proportion of rather more than 21 to 16, crime had fallen by considerably more than one-half.

On the 20th of February, 1869, the Earl of Shaftesbury was called to account in the House of Lords for one of his actions. Lord Dugannon had placed a notice upon the paper that he should move, "to call attention to the performance of Divine Service at Sadler's Wells and other theatres by clergymen of the Church of England on Sunday evenings." The noble lord also moved a resolution, "That such services, being highly irregular and inconsistent with order, are calculated to injure rather than advance the progress of sound religious principles in the metropolis and throughout the country." In answer to the speech in which this motion was formally introduced to the notice of the House, Lord Shaftesbury said that, since he was certainly the only culprit there,

he might be reasonably looked to for a reply. He made no attempt to justify what did not appear to him to need justification, but he explained that when the promoters of the services had sought either open spaces for the accommodation of worshippers, or public buildings other than the theatre, they had not been able to find them.

These services, which for a time were productive of a large religious excitement, were not of a nature to endure. The novelty wore away, and the public interest drooped; but they found an energetic supporter in Lord Shaftesbury. His life has, in fact, been identified with the history of the evangelical Christianity of his time, and with all movements of social philanthropy. He has been a voluminous writer and yet more constant speaker, but he has not aimed at the erection of any personal literary monument. All that he has published has related to the questions of the hour—to the urgent need of the time. He has never given himself leisure for compression, but has poured out letters, pamphlets, and collected speeches, all written or composed in the heat and hurry of work, and all marked by much energy and thought. In one letter originally addressed to the *Times*, and afterwards published in pamphlet form, a passage occurs which throws a great deal of light upon one aspect of his character. He is dealing with the question of the proposed revision of the Bible, and thus expresses his opinion:—"Its language has sunk deep into the moral constitution of our people. No one who associates with them can doubt it. It is the staple of their domestic intercourse, the exponent of their joys and sorrows. And I will maintain that a descent from the majestic and touching tones of our wonderful version, to the thin Frenchified and squeaking sentences in modern use, would be an irreparable shock to every English-speaking man, who has drunk in the old and generous language almost with his mother's milk."

That passage not only serves to illustrate Lord Shaftesbury's way of thinking. It serves also as a very representative sample of his literary style, which is, perhaps, somewhat too fervid and rapid. But without that fervour, and rapidity of feeling, the work in which the Earl of Shaftesbury has been engaged for a full half-century could not have been undertaken with the faintest chance of success. The work has always been arduous, and not always successful. Mrs. Barrett Browning's description of the philanthropist might have been written as a gloss upon his life and effort:—

"The three hours' speeches from the member's seat,
The hot committees in and out the House,
The pamphlets, 'Arguments,' 'Collective Views,'
Tossed out as straw before sick houses, just
To show one's sick, and so be trod to dirt,
And no more use—through this world's underground,
The groping, burrowing effort, whence the arm
And heart come bleeding——"

The thought which runs through these lines is sadly true of any effort for the improvement of the world. But the labourer is not without his reward. In Lord Shaftesbury's case not a little of the work has prospered; our country owes to him more than to many who have been considered illustrious statesmen, and there is no man who stands higher than he in the respect and liking of the Christian communities of England.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company, as also is that prefixed to the Memoir of the Lord Chief Justice.]

THE RIGHT HON. EARL RUSSELL.

LORD RUSSELL is, on many grounds, one of the most noteworthy men of our age. If the oracular voice which so long guided the deliberations of the Whig party in the House of Commons is there no longer heard, and if the slight figure of the father of Reform is no longer seen in the van of party war, Lord Russell is none the less a great name and an existing power among us. There are many men to whom his conclusions still express the finality of political rights, who in robust political manhood marched in the common ranks behind him, who are now willing to advance no further, who have arrived at that stage of content in life which Charles Lamb, in his "New Year's Eve" so finely and tenderly depicts. Earl Russell is eight years older than the century, in whose history he has played so large a part, has yet grown to be. He is a part of the political past, and is yet a living influence in the political present. Looking over the back numbers of *Punch*, which are in themselves not a bare or uninteresting synopsis of insular history, one finds in that journal's first political cartoon the severed figure of Lord John Russell, as Sir Robert Peel, in the character of Hercules, tears him from the Treasury Bench. That is so long ago as the 24th of July, 1841. An interest at once pleasant and mournful surrounds the surviving hero of those by-gone struggles. Peel and Brougham, O'Connell and Sibthorpe, Liverpool and Canning, Cobden and Cobbett, have gone their way, whilst he, the contemporary of them all, the elder of some of them, still remains. We shall be charged with no exaggerative admiration if we say that Lord Russell is in a sense dear to the members of all political parties in England. For the party animosities, inseparable from party war, have had full time to cool. His old foes have forgiven the old strokes he dealt. The new school of Liberalism reveres him for his honesty, his vigour, his indomitable pluck, his long service. He has fallen from the advanced ranks in these later days, and has proclaimed himself willing to "rest and be thankful." The new school, which in natural consequence of the swift succession of its schemes, has by this time gone beyond his programme, is willing, at least, to accept one half of that advice, and to be thankful—to him, for his good service done. In that slow broadening of freedom, from precedent to precedent, which is our especial pride, the Tory of to-day is as far advanced as the Whig of fifty years ago. "At four-score it is too old a week" to make further advances, and so Lord Russell still remains to his country in pretty much the same political attitude as when in 1819 he laid his first reform motion before the House of Commons. To trace so long, so honourable, and so eventful a life as his, is no unworthy or uninteresting task.

Born on the 10th August, 1792, and the son of John, sixth Duke of Bedford, and Georgina, daughter of the fourth Viscount Torrington, Lord Russell was early ushered into Whig influences. Hertford Street, Mayfair, in 1792, was not perhaps a likely place in which to look for modern Liberalism, but the seeds of modern Liberalism lay there not the less. The young nobleman began his education at Sunbury. Thence he went to Westminster School, and thence to the University of

Edinburgh, where he studied under Professor Playfair, Dugald Stuart, Brown the metaphysician, and other eminent men. The Duke, his father, had already implanted in his mind the seeds of Liberalism in politics, and his university tutors fostered them. Leaving college he made a continental tour, and returned to England in time to witness the foundation of the Liverpool ministry, to contest Tavistock, and to take his seat in the House of Commons in the session of 1813. He was just of age then, and at that time a probation of silence was held to be almost a necessary part of the training of a candidate for Parliamentary influence. Lord Russell's probation was a brief one. Wellesley and Grenville were the Whig Chieftains of those days, and being wise leaders had declined the power which had been recently offered them, waiting for better opportunities of working out their plans than then presented themselves. In 1815, peace with France being concluded, and Napoleon shortly afterwards being safely got away to St. Helena under the charge of Sir Hudson Lowe, room and time were found, in the hours of restored quiet, for home legislation, and the Whig party came into power with a majority of seventy or eighty in the House of Commons. Lord John Russell made his *debut* on the question of the Income Tax, and the Foreign Treaties, which at that time of the resettlement of European affairs, came under the consideration of the British Government. His eloquent speech on this occasion gave him at once a high place among Parliamentary speakers, and great things began to be expected of him. The projected "northern settlement," by which Norway and Sweden were to have been incorporated, was vigorously opposed by him, and in 1817 he spoke strongly against the Habeas Corpus Act, by which the law attempted to quiet a distressed and turbulent people. Sanguine of the success of his own views, and intensely in earnest in respect to them, the failure of his party in this respect dashed his enthusiasm, and in a moment of pique and mortification he spoke in the hearing of the poet Moore, of a strong wish to retire from public life, and to devote himself to the pursuits of literature, to which he had always had a very decided leaning. The expression of this desire drew forth from Moore his famous "Remonstrance," a poem in which he invoked Lord John to remain true to his cause, and which ends with these lines:

"The branches that spring from the old Russell tree"
Are by Liberty *claimed* for the use of her shrine!"

Lord John answered to the call, which was not perhaps so much needed as it appeared to be.

Impoverished by long war, by loss of trade, and by the operation of the Protective duties on corn, and borne down on every hand alike by circumstance, and by legislation, the people of these realms became dangerous. The slaughter of Glasgow weavers, and of Manchester mechanics, was not the method by which the solid English people, stung at last into slow-burning deep resentment, could be brought back to peace and order. At a time now not to be realised, when the spies of Castlereagh were abroad, when Chartism was armed, when Bilston petitioners, and Manchester blanketeers, were marching in ragged hopelessness towards London, and sleeping under hedges by the way; when Birmingham was illegally electing representatives for the proclamation of its grievances in Parliament; when agricultural labourers were vainly trying to live on boiled grass, and on bread which "being baked, ran out of the oven;" when Parliament in its panic passed a whole array of Bills for the seizure of arms, the suppression of sedition, and the punishment of rebels; when the whole land was in such travail as no other country ever sustained without open revolution, Lord John Russell brought in his first Reform motion. Mr. Grey, one of the staunchest of Liberals in his time, had gone back discomfited, and it needed both enthusiasm, and settled and steadfast devotion, to enable a man, with any chance of success,

to bring in a question of this kind. On the 4th December, 1819, the first Reform resolutions of Lord John Russell were moved, but they were withdrawn on the intimation that the Government were prepared to take up the question. That intimation was not very readily fulfilled, but Lord John contented himself with moving for the disfranchisement of the Borough of Grampound, where open corruption had been proved beyond all doubt to exist. Lord Castlereagh was at this time in power, and, without the expenditure of any great trouble, he contrived to shelve even this modest proposition. Very shortly too the aspect of affairs outside the House began to be smoother and more pleasant. The close of the war brought a sudden influx of trade, and in the new approach of a semblance of prosperity the people for the moment forgot the cry of Reform. But even this seeming of prosperity was illusory, and in half-a-dozen years the country was once more awake. "Captain Swing" was burning ricks in the agricultural districts, and the mechanics of the towns were again growing dangerously discontented. The old cry was raised anew, and on the opening of the session of 1831, Earl Grey, having presented numerous petitions for Reform, stated that a measure had been drawn up with the concurrence of the whole Government, and would shortly be laid before the assembled Parliament. In the Lower Chamber a similar statement was made by Lord Althorp, who said that, in consideration of the manner in which Lord John Russell had supported Reform in its more unpopular days, it had been decided to leave in his hands the honour of its reintroduction. The night appointed was the 1st of March. Scarcely a member was absent from his seat, and when Lord Russell entered the House at six o'clock he was greeted with tremendous cheering. With that evening a debate began, the like of which was never known before, or since, and which lasted, with here and there an insignificant break, until the June of the following session. It will be interesting to offer one or two examples of the electoral condition of things which was exposed in Lord John's introductory speech. In the Borough of Gatton five householders exercised the electoral right; Droitwich, which was utterly under the control of Lord Foley, had fourteen voters; Bewdley, where the influence of Lord Lyttelton was paramount, had thirteen. In ninety-nine boroughs there was a total number of rather more than 16,000 electors, giving an average of about 164 to each. In no fewer than nine of these places it was a matter of general knowledge that money was the only electoral influence, and in nearly all the others it was just as generally known that the influence of the chief owner of property in the neighbourhood was certain to carry the day in the face of any opposition which might be offered. The debate which followed Lord Russell's speech was in all respects the most remarkable of recent years. Orator Hunt lost his temper, and declaimed over his own personal wrongs. Sir Charles Wetherell denounced the measure as "destructive of all property, all right, all privilege." Sir Robert Peel condemned it as promising "to sever every connection between the poorer classes and that class from which their representatives were usually chosen." The late Lord Derby, then Mr. Stanley, proclaimed the Bill "an endeavour to uphold and cement the legitimate rights of the crown, the aristocracy, and the people." At length, after seven heavy nights of debate, leave was given to bring in the Bill, and the fight was thereafter again and again renewed, until in the July of 1832 the measure was triumphantly passed; only just in time to allay a very general feeling of impatience in the public mind.

We have chosen to speak first of the question of Reform, and of Lord Russell's connection with it, because it is the measure with which his history as a legislator has been most closely identified. But prior, in point of time, were his open defence of Queen Caroline, his advocacy of Catholic Emancipation, and his opposition to the Test and Corporation Acts. These

sound like old-world questions now, and for the younger of us it needs that some effort of the imagination be made before the excitement once kindled by them in the minds of men can be fully appreciated. But in the days when Lord Brougham dared to speak so openly in defence of an injured Queen, and when Daniel O'Connell was setting the blood of his countrymen aflame with the story of their own wrongs, they were of absorbing and tremendous interest, and it was in the discussion of these questions that Lord John Russell rose to a position of influence in the House of Commons.

At the close of the session of 1832, no man stood higher in public opinion in England than he. The reformed Parliament was formally opened by commission on the 29th January, 1833, and for a long time its members were chiefly occupied in the discussion of Irish affairs. But at the commencement of the second session it became only too evident that even a reformed Parliament was not a sufficient panacea for the evils under which the country laboured, and there was fresh talk of agricultural distress. The new Poor Law, however, put an end to much of this, and the public confidence was greatly strengthened. In due time, according to that rule which seems to govern the ebb and flow of political progress in England, the Whig party again found itself in a minority, and Sir Robert Peel ruled over a Tory Ministry in the House of Commons. Lord John Russell, now the guiding spirit of the Opposition, again and again, on the various questions of the day, led his followers to victory; and in the case of Mr. Tooke's address for the royal grant of incorporation to the University of London, a majority of 110 was declared against the Government. Sir Robert Peel, however, announced that he did not intend to resign unless a vote should be passed which should distinctly imply that the House desired to be guided by a Ministry possessed of more talent and more of the public confidence than his own. He challenged Lord Russell to bring forward such a motion, but the virtual leader of the Whigs declared he would wait for the measures of reform which the Government had promised to bring forward. An opportunity was not long in declaring itself. The Irish Tithe Commutation Bill, introduced by Sir Robert Peel, was to a very great extent the reproduction of a measure which had been previously laid before the House by his opponents, and rejected. The leaders of the Opposition reproached the Premier with having borrowed the ideas he had laboured to throw over, and they resolved to join issue with the Government on the question of the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to non-ecclesiastical purposes. This question had previously been staved off by the appointment of a commission, but it was now brought forward in the true spirit of party tactics for the purpose of driving Sir Robert Peel from the post to which he so pertinaciously clung. A three nights' debate closed with the defeat of the Ministry, which was speedily followed by resignation. The Ministry next formed, known in history as the Melbourne Administration, included Lord John Russell, who held office as Home Secretary. He made that term of office memorable by the introduction of the Corporation Reform Bill, which served as a complement to the measure of Parliamentary reform secured to the people in 1832. In the earlier days of English history, the freemen of a town or city had the power of electing the members of its Corporation; but this right had been gradually encroached upon, until at last nothing more than a mere shadow of the old power was left to the freeman; whilst abuse and corruption of the grossest kind took place, not only in elections, but in the administration of funds. Lord John Russell, in the course of the speech in which he laid the Bill before the House, stated that in many cases the funds of charities were estreated for purposes of bribery by the class of politicians locally in power, sometimes to the extent of a half or even

of two-thirds their whole value. In elections at Aldborough, the corporators used to ask a regular sum, the price of "an honest burgess" being £35. The franchise was framed on the most eccentric principles, and the whole system then prevailing was generally admitted to be productive of deplorable results. The new measure set the terms of enfranchisement on the same footing in all towns throughout the kingdom, demanding, as the test of a permanently settled and fixed inhabitation, that the voter should have paid three years' poor's rate. It regulated the power of the disposal of funds, and in brief, by a simple and reasonable process, at once swept away the abuses which had in the course of ages crept into the system then existent. There was a feeling, almost universal, that the old method of Corporation rule had been allowed to cumber the earth for a quite sufficient time, and both parties united in a desire to introduce a new state of things. There were, of course, many amendments proposed, and the Bill was slightly modified in many of its clauses before it finally received the assent of the Crown, but it was still in the main the measure introduced by Lord John Russell. It may be regarded as the natural sequel of the Reform Bill, of which it was the almost immediate successor. During the time which followed upon its becoming law, Lord John was the chief spirit of the Melbourne Administration, and was virtually the leader of the party to which he belonged. He held his office, until, in sequence, the whirligig of time brought about its revenges; until the people grew tired of reforms and talk of reforms; until "vested interests" had been too much interfered with, as in more recent days; in short, until a dwindling majority warned the Government that it had no chance of forcing its measures against the opposition of the House of Lords. Bill after Bill was brought forward by the Ministry, and having been advanced to a certain stage, was either dropped or defeated. While things were at this pass, William IV. died, and Parliament was prorogued. Then came the accession of Queen Victoria, the solemnities of the Coronation, and other events, which for a time diverted attention from the business of politics. The Liberal Ministry had in some measure recovered the confidence of the people; the great question of the Women of the Bedchamber had been settled, and was in course of being buried and forgotten, when, in a debate on the Sugar Duties, the enormous question of the Corn Laws arose, and for the time the governing party was ousted from power. A vote being taken on the question of the adoption of the now famous "sliding scale" as a fixed duty, resulted in a majority for the Conservatives of 64. This defeat the Liberal Ministry at once recognised by resignation.

Until the year 1846, when the change of popular sentiment brought him again into power, Lord John Russell led the Opposition against Sir Robert Peel. The space between was made remarkable by many events of great importance, the most noteworthy among them being the formation and rapid growth of the Anti-Corn-Law League. The war in Scinde, the agitation carried on in Wales by the crusaders against turnpikes, who called themselves "the children of Rebecca;" the indictment of Daniel O'Connell for treason; the affair of Tahiti; the potato famine in Ireland, and the Irish Arms Bill; each and all gave Lord Russell further opportunities for the display of his own abilities as a debater and as a party leader. The last-named measure was the rock on which the Conservative Ministry split and went down; and Sir Robert Peel, who during all this time, as the leader of the anti-protectionist party, had been burdened with abuse and invective, gladly resigned his hold upon the helm of State. He had sacrificed all mere party ends to what he believed to be justice, and the great and beneficent measure he had succeeded in carrying had utterly split up and disorganised the Conservatives; and Lord John Russell became, for the first time, Prime Minister, and the recognised leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Irish Arms Bill had been the question upon which the Conservative Government had been thrown out of office, their Liberal successors felt themselves forced to re-introduce it in the course of a very short time from the date of their assumption of office. The distress in Ireland had reached a hitherto unparalleled stage, and there were dreadful and unhappily well-founded stories told of peasants, so reduced to extremity, as to stop cattle and attempt to assuage the torments of hunger by wounding the animals and drinking their blood. "At Bantry there were forty verdicts of 'died from starvation' given at inquests held at the same time." In again bringing before the attention of the House the rejected measure, Lord Russell removed several of the clauses to which he had personally taken exception in the course of the recent discussion upon it; but it was found to be so strongly opposed to the general sense of the House, that, in spite of all modifications, it was withdrawn. At the beginning of the following session, that of 1847, the Premier brought forward a scheme by which he hoped to put an end to the terrible distress which men of all parties joined in deploring. Large sums were proposed to be expended in giving relief to the suffering Irish, and a Poor-Law based on the principle of that in operation in England, was brought forward. Lord George Bentinck introduced a Bill in which it was proposed that the sum of £16,000,000 should be expended in Irish railways for the employment of the starving populace. This scheme was rejected, but one of a less imposing nature was adopted by the Government, and, with some amendments, was passed through both Houses. Not long after this, the eloquent, talented, and intemperate advocate of the Irish people, Daniel O'Connell, made his last speech in the House. His death, as he journeyed towards Rome, was not long in following. Not an insignificant amount of work in favour of Ireland had recently been performed, and the inhabitants of the sister island became quieter and more orderly as brighter prospects dawned upon them. The Anti-Corn-Law League had also done its work, and had been dissolved; and after the wild and exciting time of action which had extended over the past five or six years, came a calm.

Under these circumstances Lord John Russell did not show any activity in the initiation of reforms, or of progressive legislation. One of those periods of inaction which invariably succeed abnormal activity had set in. The ordinary result followed. The majority of the Ministry fell off. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill pleased nobody. Lord Palmerston seceded from the Government side, and Lord Russell resigned. Lord Stanley, however, was forced to confess his inability to construct a Conservative Government, and the old Ministry, at the request of the Queen, consented to retain office. In 1852, a new Reform Bill was introduced by the Premier, in which it was proposed to enfranchise some large towns, and disfranchise certain small boroughs; to lower the voter's qualification; and to strike out the words "on the faith of a Christian" from the oath taken by members of the House, thus affording Jews an opportunity of admission to the legislature. It also proposed to abolish the practice of the vacation of seats by members of the Government who might be transferred from one office to the other. The provisions of this measure were never even discussed. The time was not one for active legislation. The Great Peace Exhibition of 1851 attracted the attention of the people, and Parliamentary matters went on but languidly. Some animation was given to the debates at the time, and to the public feeling, by the dismissal of Lord Palmerston from the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: but this only came as another sign, had another sign been needed, that the Ministry had lived its allotted span of days, and was now becoming disintegrated. The immediate cause of its fall was found in the question of national armament, there being in England at that time some dread lest Napoleon should endeavour to plant himself more firmly

upon the throne of France by the attempt to avenge the defeat of Waterloo. The Government, on an amendment proposed by Lord Palmerston, was defeated by a majority of eleven only; but this, in the existing condition of things, was enough to induce Lord Russell to make the formal declaration that the Ministry did not possess the confidence of the House, and that its members felt impelled to resign. The resignation was accepted by the Crown, and the Conservative party, headed by the Earl of Derby, came in for a very brief tenure of power. His Government fell under the brilliant attack made by Mr. Gladstone upon the Budget presented by Mr. Disraeli, and Lord Russell accepted office as Foreign Secretary in the "Ministry of all the talents," which was conducted by Lord Aberdeen and by Lord Palmerston. The men by whose side Lord Russell had worked, or with whom he had crossed swords in the ardent legislative battle of his earlier days, were dying fast. Another dropped out of the group of foemen at this time; one whose worth will always be gratefully remembered by the English people. The Duke of Wellington was gathered to his fathers during the recess which followed upon the call of the Coalition Ministry to power.

In 1854, Lord Russell again brought forward a Reform Bill, which he desired to pass as a supplement to the great legislative achievement of his life. He was again defeated, the whole interest of the nation being then concentrated upon the Eastern question, which shortly resulted in the war with Russia. In the Vienna conferences Lord Russell was the representative of England, and Sir E. B. Lytton gave notice of the following motion: "That the conduct of Lord John Russell in the recent negotiations at Vienna, has, in the opinion of the House, shaken the confidence of the country in those to whom its affairs are intrusted." This motion would probably have been carried, but Lord Russell judged it best, for the safety of the Government, to resign. Lord Palmerston generously offered to stand or fall by the actions of his colleague; but that the veteran statesman would not permit, and he accordingly separated himself from the Ministry.

The Government from which he had thus chivalrously receded did not long survive his withdrawal. It fell before a motion of Mr. Cobden, on an event in the war with China, but decided to dissolve rather than to resign. The general election of 1857, brought about, in the course of a single session, the defeat of the Ministry, and the Earl of Derby was again called into power. But, as before, his reign was short; and in 1859, after some preliminary difficulties, Lord Russell took office in the new Palmerstonian Government. During this new term of power he spoke strongly against the oppression of the Poles by Russia, and against the aggressive policy of the German powers against Denmark. During the civil war in America he firmly advocated the wisdom of British neutrality.

His long and distinguished career in the House of Commons was now drawing near its close; but he had still one other great battle in which to bear his part, and one other measure to introduce. On the 28th February, 1859, Mr. Disraeli brought forward a somewhat complex and involved measure of Representative Reform, and upon Lord Russell's motion, the Government, in whose behalf the Bill was introduced, were defeated. Another change of Ministry followed, and the veteran once again found himself in the position of Foreign Secretary. In the year 1860 he again brought before the House his favourite measure of Reform, being evidently increasingly anxious to complete the measure of 1832. The proposals made by him were received with a languid indifference, and Mr. Mackinnon's proposal that the question should not be entered into until the result of the census of 1861 could be made known, was received with such favour that the Bill was withdrawn. With the failure of this third attempt to legislate upon this

question, Lord Russell's work in the Lower Chamber was ended. He was called to the House of Lords on the 30th July, 1861, and on the death of Lord Palmerston, four years later, he again became Prime Minister. With an apparent majority of seventy or eighty he once more attempted to pass a measure of Reform, this time in conjunction with Mr. Gladstone. Once more he failed, and, on the motion of Lord Dunkellin, resigned his post. In the late Gladstone Ministry he held no office.

Busy as Lord Russell's political life has been, he has found time for a good deal of literary work. His most ambitious attempt in this direction is "Carlos, or Persecution," a tragedy. It cannot be said that he has achieved any very distinguished mark as a poet. The opening scene of the play, in which Valdéz and Lucero hold a conversation regarding Carlos, the hero, strikes a somewhat commonplace key-note, and the piece rarely rises into the pure serene of poetry. The most important of his prose works is probably his "Essays on the History of the Christian Religion," a history which includes the movements of the Christian faith from the time of Tiberius to the end of the Council of Trent. His "Essay on the History of the English Government" has been twice translated into French, once in 1821, by Mons. A. Roy, and once in 1865, by Mons. C. B. Derosne. He has also edited the "Life and Letters of C. J. Fox" (1853), and the "Memoirs of the poet Moore," with whom he was in his earlier days on terms of friendship. Among other contributions to literature may be mentioned an essay on "The Foreign Policy of England," in which the question is historically treated.

In 1835, Lord Russell married Adelaide, widow of Lord Ribblesdale. She died in 1838, and in 1841 his lordship married Lady Frances Anna Maria, daughter of the late Earl of Minto.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott & Fry.]

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THE RIGHT HON. LORD CAIRNS.

IT will probably be pretty generally admitted that the one feature in our British House of Lords which most commends it to the liking of the people, which most definitely and broadly establishes it as an integral part of the constitution, and most strongly supports it against the attacks which are occasionally made upon it, is the notably democratic source from which it is constantly recruited. The moral and intellectual idiosyncracies of a people must always, as a thing of course, find for themselves an expression more or less strictly corresponding to their nature in the Government of the nation to which they belong, and this characteristic of the House of Lords is but the natural result of the general temper of the British people, and of that broad-based freedom of opinion and of movement in which they have so long had reason to rejoice. A House of legislators purely and exclusively aristocratic could not long continue to exist. The glory and the usefulness of the higher legislative chamber of England are largely due to those additions to it from other classes which so frequently take place. The history of Lord Cairns is significant and instructive, as showing the rapidity and certainty with which a man of brilliant parts and close application may rise to honour. Even in England, where it is made a perpetual boast that the way to distinction is open to deserving effort in any rank of life, an upward progress so rapid as that of Lord Cairns is at once rare and noteworthy.

Hugh Mac Calmont Cairns is the son of Mr. William Cairns, of Cultra, County Down, and was born in the year 1819. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took first honours in classics. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn on the 26th of January, 1844; and it was not long before he took a prominent place in the Court of Chancery. That Court's proceedings were not at this time much before the public, but those most immediately concerned in its affairs were quick to recognise the splendid abilities of the young barrister, and in a certain limited way he was already famous, when he found opportunities for displaying in a wider sphere the qualities which lay within him. The rising barrister naturally looks to the House of Commons as affording him his best and highest chances of success, and in 1852 Mr. Cairns successfully contested Belfast. He continued to represent that city until it became no longer possible for him to hold a seat in the House of Commons. His first effort in that House appears to have related to a question which is now forgotten, but which created considerable stir at the time. A disturbance, afterwards generally known as the Six Mile Bridge Affray, had taken place at the Clare Election. The character of the *emeute* was considerable, and the matter was more than once brought under the notice of Parliament. On the occasion of the first speech of importance from the Conservative member for Belfast, the question was introduced by Mr. Napier, who at the time of the disturbance had held the office of Solicitor-General for Ireland. The speech of Mr. Cairns made considerable impression upon the House, and established his distinct claim to be listened to with attention. Another opportunity was afforded him by

the discussion of the Budget of 1853, when he spoke chiefly of the action of the Income Tax with relation to Ireland. During the following Session he spoke frequently in the House, and several times crossed swords with Mr. Bright, who was then member for Manchester, notably on two occasions, when he attacked that gentleman's opinion with regard to the condition of Presbyterianism in Ulster, and with respect to the operation of the *Regium donum*.

On the 21st February, 1856, Sir Joshua Walmsley moved a resolution in the House to the effect that it would promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the working classes of the metropolis if the British Museum and National Gallery were open to the public on Sundays, after morning service. A long discussion ensued, in the course of which Sir John Shelley and Lord Stanley gave their support to the motion. Among the speakers on the other side was Mr. Cairns, who handled the question with much moderation, and considerable eloquence. The feeling of the House, as the division proved, was strongly against the proposed alteration, the motion being negatived by a majority of 328. A ready eloquence, a persuasive manner, and the barrister's special faculty of throwing himself heart and soul into the business of the time, whatever it might be, combined to make him one of the most valuable members of the House to the Conservative party, and when in 1858 the Earl of Derby somewhat unexpectedly came into office, it was a foregone conclusion that Mr. Cairns, now Queen's Counsel and a Bencher of his Inn, and standing in as high repute at the Bar as in the House itself, should be made Solicitor-General. Shortly before his appointment to this office he received the honour of knighthood. Early in the Session he laid before the House a measure for the amendment of the course of procedure in the High Court of Chancery. The condition of matters generally in that quarter had been of late years the subject of much discussion, and there was a very strong feeling with regard to the necessity of reform—a feeling with which the publication of the "Bleak House" of Charles Dickens had probably much to do. The law of bankruptcy was on all hands admitted to be defective, and the impossibility which existed of obtaining relief in a single court was recognised as an element of great evil, the suitor being obliged to go to one court which exhausted part of the case only, and then having to go to another to obtain full justice. A large portion of the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery was exercised in giving relief in cases of breach of agreement, but it was only empowered to restrict a continuance of such a breach, the suitor being compelled to proceed at Common Law for damages for the injury inflicted in time past. The Bill introduced by Sir Hugh Cairns proposed to remedy this state of things, by empowering the Court of Chancery, upon any application for an injunction, or for the specific performance of an agreement, to award damages for the breach of the agreement up to the time at which the Court gave relief. This, if not a perfect fusion of law and equity, at all events allowed complete jurisdiction in common law and equity in their respective courts, and the Bill was eagerly welcomed by the legal members of the House of Commons. It was not the less welcomed, that it also proposed to do away with the absurd method of examining witnesses. Up to the year 1852 evidence was taken by what were called written depositions, the party being examined in private, and in the absence of his adversary, and the story being committed to paper by the hand of the person by whom the questions were put. That system prevailed until 1852, when it was exchanged for a method of *viva voce* examination. But even here the witnesses were not called before the judge who had to decide the case, but before an examiner who made his inquiries in the presence of both parties. This was, no doubt an improvement, but it contained some terrible elements of mischief. The examiner had no power to check the prolixity of the proceedings, or to decide as to the relevancy of questions. He was, therefore, at the

mercy of the parties contending, and was obliged to examine all the witnesses, however numerous, and to see that their evidence, however worthless, was duly and fully recorded. The result was, that piles of papers of evidence were collected, which had to be read painfully page by page, for the purpose of finding one little grain of fact which a judge would have extracted from a witness in a tithe of the time. Another evil was, that the judge, not seeing the witnesses whose evidence it was his business to consider, often felt himself unable to decide as to who was declaring falsely and who truly. In such cases, which were of course sufficiently numerous, it was necessary to give order for trial before a jury in another court, and there, at a serious expense, the whole issue had to be gone through anew. The Bill, therefore, proposed that the Court should have the power of calling in a jury in any case in which a sufficiently grave question of fact was raised. These amendments were sorely needed, and even if they did not wholly remove the evils of which disappointed and disheartened suitors had so long complained, they largely modified them, and gave at once a more rapid execution of justice, and a more economical method of procedure.

About this time an event took place which, whilst it endangered the newly-formed ministry, offered a better opportunity than had hitherto presented itself for the display of Sir Hugh Cairns' ability as a Parliamentary debater. The India Bill of Lord Palmerston had already been ignominiously rejected at its first reading, when Mr. Disraeli, on the 26th March, 1858, introduced to the House of Commons the measure known as "India Bill No. 2." It shared the fate of its predecessor, and never got beyond the first reading, being greeted with a burst of hostility and ridicule. Lord John Russell suggested that the question should be dealt with by resolutions, and to this Mr. Disraeli agreed, but before the resolutions could be brought before the members of the House an incident occurred which bade fair not only to throw out the ministry, but to light anew the flame of rebellion in India. Lord Canning proposed to issue a proclamation in which a scheme of confiscation was announced to the inhabitants of our Indian empire, and sent home a draft of this document, against which Lord Ellenborough protested in an energetically-worded missive, copies of which were allowed to be sent to Lord Granville and to Mr. Bright. It thus happened that the proposed proclamation, and the nature of Lord Ellenborough's strictures upon it, became public property; and both in the House of Lords and the House of Commons motions were brought forward which reflected strongly upon the ministry, and which, if carried, would have certainly resulted in the overthrow of the Earl of Derby's administration. In the Upper House Lord Shaftesbury, though by profession a Conservative, brought the question forward in a speech, in the course of which he spoke strongly against the policy which had been adopted, and in the House of Commons Mr. Cardwell brought forward a motion which was in effect a censure upon the ministry. A debate ensued, which lasted for four nights, and was conducted with remarkable vigour and ability. No man of weight or mark on either side fought more gallantly on this occasion than Sir Hugh Cairns. He was not supposed to be gifted with the happiest form of oratory. His manner was considered too cold and too polished. But when he arose to speak upon this question he proved himself a greater master of the orator's art than he had been supposed to be. His speech was crowded with points, and deserves study as an able example of the business of Parliamentary rhetoric. The Government had a strong case, and the sympathies of the House, as the result proved, went with them; but in the earlier part of the debate the strength of the case had not been made manifest, and Mr. Cardwell's motion at one time seemed likely to throw great discredit on the Government. In the whole four nights of the debate no more brilliant speech than that of Sir Hugh Cairns was heard. It was concerning this discussion that Mr. Disraeli delivered, perhaps, the most remarkable of all his speeches. Addressing

his constituents at Slough, he said, "There is nothing like that last Friday evening in the history of the House of Commons. . . . I can only liken the scene to the mutiny of the Bengal army. Regiment after regiment, corps after corps, general after general, all acknowledged that they could not march through Coventry. It was like a convulsion of Nature rather than an ordinary transaction of human life. I can only liken it to one of those earthquakes which take place in Catalonia and Peru. There was a rumbling murmur, a groan, a shriek, a sound of distant thunder. No one knew whether it came from the top or the bottom of the House. There was a rent, a fissure in the ground, and then a village disappeared; then a tall tower toppled down, and the whole of the Opposition benches became one great dissolving view of anarchy." The condition of things thus exultingly and picturesquely described by Mr. Disraeli was at least partially owing to Sir Hugh Cairns, although other elements than were to be found in any of the speeches combined to produce it.

At the beginning of the Session of 1859 the Conservative Government brought forward a Reform Bill, which proposed to put the electoral franchise upon a new basis. It proved satisfactory to neither party in the House, although a pitched battle took place between Government and Opposition when its second reading was proposed by Mr. Disraeli. Lord John Russell proposed an amendment which aimed to throw out the Bill altogether. The debate on the question of the second reading extended nearly two weeks, and resulted in the defeat of the Government. The alternative of resignation or dissolution was now before the ministry. They chose the latter, not unwisely, for though the aggregate numbers of the Opposition outweighed the Government considerably, there was yet great division in the Liberal ranks, and it seemed at that time very unlikely that a permanent Liberal Government could be formed. The General Election brought the Government a gain of some twenty seats. This was not, however, enough to turn the scale in their favour. Her Majesty having opened Parliament in person, on the 7th June, the Marquis of Hartington moved an addition to the Speech from the Throne. That addition amounted virtually to a vote of want of confidence in the Government, and was carried by a majority of thirteen, after a fierce battle. The defeat of the Government was instantly followed by its resignation, and thus Sir Hugh Cairns came to the close of his first brief tenure of office. He had proved himself one of the ablest and most useful men of his party, and had made his mark so firmly and distinctly that the unprecedented rapidity with which he afterwards arose to the highest honours in the State came almost as a matter of course. He was succeeded by Sir H. S. Keating, then member for Reading.

Hitherto we have spoken of Sir Hugh Cairns rather as a politician than as a lawyer. But it is not as a politician that he has won his chief honours. His tenure of office was made eminent and beneficial by his introduction of the Landed Estates Bill, a measure urgently called for by the existing evils of the law in relation to the transfer of land. The mischief of the prevailing system had often been spoken of by eminent lawyers. Sir Matthew Hale was known to have said that he would willingly give another year's purchase for an estate could he but be satisfied that he had a good title. In the year 1669, a committee of the House of Lords was appointed to look into the question. They reported that one reason for the decrease in the value of land lay in the fact that its tenure was so insecure, by reason of the faultiness of title, that people could not be found who were bold enough to speculate in a purchase which should by nature be regarded as one of the most secure. Sir Hugh Cairns, in bringing forward his measure, dwelt on the unnecessary and tedious delay which the various demands of the law interposed between the time of purchase and that at which payment was made and

possession taken. "You cannot," he said, "get an estate, nor can a vendor get his money for a lapse of time, sometimes no inconsiderable portion of a man's lifetime." Time and money were alike thrown away in the preparation of abstracts, in the comparison of deeds, in the search for encumbrances, in objections made to the title, in answers to the objections, in disputes which arose on the answers, in endeavours to cure the defects of the title. Even when a purchaser had investigated the title at the loss of much money and time, if he wished to raise money on the mortgage of his estate, he could not do so until the investigation and the proof, the objections and the answers, and the disputes upon the answers, had been gone through all over again. The man who had money to lend would not, of course, in so unsettled a condition of things, accept the intending borrower's investigation. Sir Hugh Cairns concluded his speech by saying that if the Bill were passed they would have the satisfaction of thinking that without endangering any right, without suddenly interfering with any long-established practice, and without a costly array of offices and of office-bearers, they had taken a step, and that neither a trifling nor an unimportant one, towards removing that complication of expenses which had long been the reproach of the law relating to land in this country. The method introduced was at once safe and simple, and consisted almost entirely in the adoption of the principle of the registration of estates.

In 1864, foreseeing the attack which would shortly be made on the connection between the Protestant Church in Ireland and the State, Sir Hugh Cairns made an important speech, in the course of which he dwelt with particular emphasis on what appeared to him the identity between the Church in Ireland and that in England. He did not put it on the high ground of community of aim, faith, and spirit. All that he took for granted; but he laboured to establish his own belief that they were one in interest, and that the severance of one from State control and State support would speedily bring about that of the other, a possible condition of things which appeared to him much to be deprecated. That movement of Mr. Gladstone's supporters, which in after years took place, was very distinctly prophesied, although the speaker had no faith in its success. As every one now knows, it proved successful beyond all his fears.

It was not long before the political wheel came round again, after the dismissal of the Conservative party from power. The new ministry, with Mr. Gladstone at its head, displayed a certain fidgetiness and vacillation, of which the Opposition took full advantage. More fatal still was that defection from the Liberal ranks which wrecked the Reform Bill of the ministry, and made the political dwellers in a new Cave of Adullam famous in English Parliamentary history. The Bill was carried to a second reading by a majority of five only, and in the next vote of importance the ministry found itself in a minority of eleven. Resignation immediately followed, and the Earl of Derby, in again forming his Government, could scarcely do less than offer the Attorney-Generalship to Sir Hugh Cairns, who accepted the honour thus conferred upon him, and took the place which had been occupied under a Liberal administration by Sir Roundell Palmer. The brief period during which he held this new office was made memorable by the Hyde Park disturbances, the judicial utterances in England with respect to the Jamaica outbreaks, and by the laying of the Atlantic telegraph. In the October of 1866 Sir Hugh Cairns was made Lord Justice of Appeal, and in the February of the following year he was called to the House of Lords as Baron Cairns of Garmoyle, in the county of Antrim. On the 19th March of that year he made his first speech in the House of Lords on the question of the Railway Traffic Protection Bill. The then Lord Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford, in the course of the same year, introduced a measure known as the "Court of Appeal Chancery (Dispatch of Business) Bill." To this measure Lord Cairns, who had already, as we have seen,

honourably distinguished himself as a legal reformer, gave his heartiest support. The case of the appellate business in the Court of Chancery was at this time becoming extremely serious, and was indeed falling greatly into arrears, and all eminent lawyers were desirous that the reproach which was thus tacitly cast upon one branch of the legal profession should be removed.

On the 24th June of the same year Lord Russell moved for a commission to inquire into the funds of the Irish Church, "with a view to their more productive management, and to their more equitable application for the benefit of the Irish people." Against this motion Lord Cairns fought his hardest, and he concluded a notable speech by saying: "It is because I feel the gravity of these objections to the scheme of the noble earl, because I see in its completion injustice and even confiscation; in its execution strife—bitter and enduring strife and animosity—and because, above all, I see in its result danger to property, and peril, perhaps not immediate but not the less certain peril, to the Established Church of this country, that I beseech your lordships to give no assent and no encouragement to the motion of the noble lord in its present form." This speech was characterised by Earl Kimberley as one of no surrender.

In the course of that Session Mr. Disraeli introduced his famous Reform Bill. As a thing of course, a great deal of satire was launched against the Conservative party, who had for so many years strenuously opposed the extension of the franchise, and who now appeared so suddenly converted to the views to which they had hitherto been most strongly hostile. This satire Lord Cairns very cleverly returned when the Bill came under the discussion of the Upper Chamber. "There is," he said, in the course of a very able and humorous speech, "no doubt that it is a part of the creed of the Whig party, and firmly held by them, that they have got the prerogative and the monopoly of bringing in Reform Bills; and their great aim and object is to be the possessors of a sort of Pandora's box, though with contents of a different kind, and to let them out one by one, and not too much at a time, for the benefit and delight, the reverence and the love, of a grateful country. I do not at all object to that view, but the combining of that article of faith with another I do object to; and that is, that it is the bounden duty and occupation of the Conservative party to be always opposing the Reform Bills which the Whig party are always to be bringing in." This method of argument, however specious it might appear to the Liberal members of the House of Lords, was, of course, received with marked applause by the political associates of the speaker. Valuable as Lord Cairns had always been to his party while in the House of Commons, he laboured no less strenuously in the Upper Chamber, having made no fewer than twenty-four speeches on the various clauses of the Bill as it passed through committee.

In the February of the following year (1868) Lord Cairns received the Great Seal as Lord Chancellor, and thus in an incredibly short time placed his foot on the highest round on the ladder of legal distinction. During this time he presided over the Commission for the building of the New Law Courts. During his Chancellorship he was, naturally, less politically active than he had been before, but on the second reading of the Irish Church Suspensory Bill he moved its rejection. A month after his elevation to the woolsack that misunderstanding between Great Britain and America, which was only brought to an end by the payment of the *Alabama* Claims, was just beginning to declare itself. Mr. Adams, the representative of the American Government, who shortly after this time left our shores under very unfortunate circumstances, had said that the sum of all true diplomacy was to be found in the Christian maxim, "Do unto your neighbour as you would that he should do unto you;" and that where the will was good a way of arrangement was sure ultimately to be found. Lord Cairns commented upon this speech in terms of high approval, and expressed his opinion that the English Government

had shown substantially that its will was good for the adjustment of the difficulty. The utterance of the Lord Chancellor, however, which most strongly arrested public attention, was drawn forth in a somewhat singular way by that famous letter of Mr. John Bright's to his Birmingham constituents, in which he expressed his opinion that "the Lords were not wise." This letter and its contents were brought before the attention of the House of Lords by the High Chancellor, who animadverted upon them very severely. Against the Irish Church Bill, which was then under the consideration of Parliament, Lord Cairns struggled gallantly but unavailingly, for that separation between Church and State, which he had five years before foretold, came at last to pass. On the 18th June, 1869, he delivered probably the best and most forcible of all his political speeches upon this question. By this time the Conservative lease of office was over, and the Lord Chancellorship had fallen into the hands of Lord Hatherley.

In the year 1859 the Ritualistic movement had grown so far that in one church in London it was productive of very serious and very discreditable consequences. The Church of St. George's-in-the-East was the scene of a number of disgraceful riots, which drew the attention of the general public to the bold and open advances of the High Church party. Eight years later the public interest was again attracted to this question, this time in a more legitimate manner. The Rev. Mr. Mackonochie was brought, on the appeal of Mr. Martin, before the Court of Arches, which was presided over by Sir Richard Phillimore, and a judgment being there given, against which the appellant objected, the question was carried before the tribunal which was under the presidency of Lord Cairns. The appeal involved the consideration of two charges against Mr. Mackonochie. These were that he knelt before the sacred elements, and that he used lighted candles upon the communion-table "when such candles were not wanted for the purpose of giving light." Sir Richard Phillimore was of opinion that since the Rubric gave no precise direction with respect to the kneeling of the celebrant at that part of the celebration at which Mr. Mackonochie was proved to kneel, it was one of those matters which might be regarded as coming within the category of cases of things which are neither ordered nor prohibited expressly, but the doing or omitting of which must be governed by the living discretion of some person of authority in the Church. Against this ruling, Lord Cairns, speaking for the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, laid down judgment that by any change of posture during the prayer the priest violated the Rubric. The minister, he ruled, had no right to distinguish for himself between acts which were important and acts which were trivial in the violation of the Rubric. He also laid down definitely the rule that a Bishop had no right to modify or dispense with the Rubrical provisions. With respect to the second point of appeal Sir Richard Phillimore had given his judgment to the effect that the use of the candles upon the communion-table was permissible, as signifying Christ as the Light of the World—the mystical construction authorised by the injunction issued in 1547, the first year of the reign of Edward VI. Lord Cairns, on the other hand, ruled that this injunction had been abrogated or repealed by the 1 Eliz. c. 2, s. 27, by the Prayer Book in present use, and by the Act of Uniformity. There were four charges originally brought against Mr. Mackonochie, and against two of the practices arraigned Sir Richard Phillimore had already given judgment. These were the use of incense during Holy Communion, and the mingling of the sacramental wine with water.

Lord Cairns has received his share of recognition at the hands of the public, and the universities have not been slow to do him honour. He was appointed Chancellor of the University of Dublin in succession to the Earl of Rosse. In the year 1862 the University of Cambridge conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D., and the following year the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of D.C.L.

Lord Cairns is both strongly Protestant and Conservative. In all that minute labour which makes up the sum of real usefulness in a member of the House of Commons, he was, during his stay there, probably more unsparing than any one of his contemporaries. He did not speak on great measures only, but was for ever on the alert, volunteering work which was not at all likely to be known of by the public, but which was yet imperative and useful. The rapidity of his rise is at first astonishing, but an examination of the Parliamentary Reports will reveal a quiet, persistent, unostentatious application to labour; which, when taken in combination with his acknowledged brilliance and his high integrity, explain, and more than explain it. Lord Cairns is chiefly remarkable for the rare combination of great powers and enormous industry, and his barrister-like faculty of mastering a question at the shortest possible notice has made him one of the most valuable members of his party in a party sense. It is not quite certain that his elevation to the House of Lords, well as he deserved that tribute to his powers and to his character, was not a great loss to the Conservative party, to whom he can no longer afford the energetic assistance which he rendered of old in the free arena of the popular chamber. His reputation will always stand high for the legal reforms which he has in several cases introduced, and to which, when introduced by others, he has freely lent the aid of his keen legal faculty, his large and varied experience, and that signal power of simplification which is one of his most eminent characteristics.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.]



Granville.

THE RIGHT HON. EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.

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THERE are few men in England concerning whom public opinion has undergone so quiet and so thorough a revolution as that experienced in the case of Lord Granville. Some years ago he was regarded, politically, as a sort of ornamental appendage to the Liberal party. Everybody was ready to admit, or on occasion called for it to proclaim, that Lord Granville was a cordial, amiable, and accomplished gentleman. He was unknown at Court till after his political appointment, and he only became intimate there in consequence of his business relations with the late Prince Consort for the Exhibition of 1851. But only those who knew him well thought of accrediting him with the political sagacity of which he has now given ample proof, and his first political appointment was received with much disavowal. That disavowal was the result of ignorance, and rapidly disappeared before the fuller knowledge of the new official's abilities; and since that time Lord Granville has gone on steadily, and by almost insensible degrees, to gain the confidence and esteem, not only of his party, but of his political opponents. Lord Granville is essentially a popular man, though he is by no means so in the sense in which Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Bright are popular. The popularity of Lord Granville is of a more personal character, and is the result less of his acknowledged ability as a politician, than of his own good-nature, his conciliatory wisdom, and his cultivated *bon sens*. He is emphatically the gentleman of English contemporary politics, and that very courtesy of reputation, which no great time back provoked English commercial centres on his appointment to the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade, still abides with him as one of the marks characteristic in virtue of which he is so widely liked and respected. He is not, as his opponents have upon occasion discovered, without a considerable power of satire, and he has sometimes displayed that capacity in a fashion which has been more the less effective because of the *suavité* of manner which has even then distinguished him.

Granville George Leveson Gower, second Earl Granville, was born on the 11th of May, 1815. He was educated at Eton and at Christ Church College, Oxford, taking his degree at the latter place in 1834. The position occupied by his father at this time was that of ambassador at Paris, and in 1835 the young nobleman became an attaché to his father's embassy. Thus he naturally mixed with the highest and most select society of the French capital, and acquired some knowledge of diplomatic society. In 1836 he returned to England, and he was but just of age when he successfully sought the suffrages of the electors of Merpeth, for which borough he was returned to Parliament in the Liberal interest. When only twenty-one years of age, he made his first speech, which had considerable success, probably much owing to the fact of his youth. One of the first debates of importance in which he listened was that on the question of the stamp duty on newspapers, in the course of which the rival merits of cheap soap and a free press were discussed with considerable acrimony and vigour. The Reform Bill was



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still young, and the general feeling of the country was unsettled. Our Continental relations were uncertain; Canada was signally discontented; the blind confidence of speculators at home was rapidly bringing about its revenges; and lastly, the King was in his seventy-first year, and was known to be ailing and unlikely to last much longer. In the year '37 the monetary storm broke over England, and a tremendous panic ensued. In the same year the King died, and Queen Victoria ascended the throne. In the general election which followed upon the accession of a new sovereign, the supporters of the Melbourne Administration were largely assisted by the belief which prevailed to the effect that Her Majesty had a strong partiality for the principles of the Ministry she had found in power upon the death of her uncle. The young Liberal nobleman was again successful at Morpeth, and he had the honour of moving the first address of the House of Commons to the Queen. In the House his birth gave him a certain title to consideration, but he made no especial effort to secure its attention. Those who knew him best esteemed him most; and though apart from his social position the reasons for the selection were not very obvious, he was in 1840 appointed Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. That year was a fortunate one, so far as the opportunities for the acquisition of departmental knowledge were concerned. The Eastern question came into prominence, and the new Under-Secretary, who had Lord Palmerston for his tutor, found the circumstances favourable for a consideration of the official conduct of foreign affairs on a somewhat large scale. The matter was one of greater importance than the general public at the moment realised. The Pasha of Egypt had rebelled against the Sultan his master, and had invited his fellow subordinate rulers to join him in the revolt. The Sultan appealed to the Powers of England, France, and Russia, for assistance. To that appeal, for reasons of its own, the French Government of that day returned no answer. The English and Russian fleets joined in the attack on the town of Acre, which they speedily captured, but the attitude of France was one of even menacing neutrality. The pleasant and friendly relations which were gradually being strengthened by the freer intercourse of the two peoples bade fair to be suspended, and a feeling of irritation arose which did not subside for some years. There was, indeed, ground for the apprehension of an actual rupture, but that consummation was happily avoided.

Englishmen generally took but little interest in this brief and remote quarrel between the Sultan and his rebellious subject, and they most certainly underrated the importance of its surroundings. But the conduct of the negotiations reflected the greatest credit upon Lord Palmerston, a credit which in large measure was reflected upon his colleagues. The position of the Government was neither brilliant nor assured, but the conduct of the Foreign Office in this particular did much to render its standing more solid, and to brighten its somewhat soiled reputation. The revulsion in favour of the Melbourne Administration did not, however, endure long. The chief ground of complaint against it lay in the fact of the monstrous deficit, over two millions, declared by the Budget of 1841. The financial projects by which the Ministry hoped to cover that deficit were overthrown by the opposition of Sir Robert Peel. The Government still clung to office until Sir Robert moved a direct vote of want of confidence, which was the occasion of one of the closest and hardest of Parliamentary struggles for majority, the motion being lost by one vote only in a House of 623. This was such a blow as rendered the survival of the Government impossible without an appeal to the country. Lord John Russell, who always made a point of fighting to the last, announced a dissolution of Parliament, and each party prepared for a great electoral battle. That battle ended in a victory for the Tory party, a result which was mainly due to the personal confidence of the public in Sir Robert Peel's fiscal talents, and in his ability to rectify the grave financial errors

into which the late Government had fallen. Mr. Leveson Gower was returned for Lichfield by this election, and resumed his official place, but only for a little time. Lord Russell's utmost endeavours failed to save the Ministry, and the Liberals were speedily ousted from office.

During the great battle for the repeal of the Corn Laws which followed, the late Under-Secretary was a consistent supporter of Free Trade, as he had been from his first entrance into Parliament, sometimes even voting in opposition to his party, and, both in and out of the House, worked to free the country from the incubus of protection. In the year 1846 he succeeded to the Peerage, and retired to the House of Lords without having, so far, made any very distinguished place for himself in contemporary politics, and without being, except to his own intimates, especially separable from other young men of his social position. Always clear, graceful, and courteous, he was sure of an attentive hearing, and invariably commanded both respect and liking; but it was not until a later date that he gave evidence of the genuine and large capacity he really possessed. A better opportunity than had hitherto been afforded was offered by his appointment in 1849 to the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade. That appointment, as has already been stated, caused much dissatisfaction in certain circles, and led to certain results of a rather humorous complexion. Lord Granville at this time held the office of Master of the Buckhounds, and Manchester is represented as having inquired of the noble Vice-President, "Is thy servant a dog?" A stock phrase of humour was supplied by the disclaimer of Earl Russell, who was charged with nepotism in the appointment of a distant relative to the post. The veteran politician admitted the fact that Earl Granville was rather remotely related to him, but stated that he had to go back to his own grandmother to establish the relationship. In the heat of his repudiation, Earl Russell spoke somewhat discourteously of that bygone lady, and for some time hereafter "Lord John Russell's grandmother" became something very like a standing joke for the small wits of political circles to work upon. It has been remarked that the thought of the grandmother of the oldest surviving Liberal chief carries the memory back to a time whose remembrances were not very likely to influence Party tactics in the year 1848; and the serious denial of the charge of nepotism was not very clearly called for. Earl Granville acquitted himself in his new position in such a manner as to disarm all hostile criticism, and displayed a business ability which astonished those who had hitherto looked upon him as a mere politician of the *salon*. In point of fact, his success in more courtly positions had led the general public to a belief in his exclusively courtier-like faculties, and his newly discovered powers were the more warmly welcomed in that they had hitherto been unsuspected. From this appointment may be dated the steady growth of public opinion in his favour—a growth which has never slackened or lessened.

In the year 1850, the attention of Europe, if not that of the whole civilised world, was for a time centred on the great proposed Exhibition of the triumphs of peaceful art in England. This idea, which was mainly due to Prince Albert, took rapid root, and was hailed as the forerunner of an almost millennial era. Of the Committee for carrying out the splendid design realised in the following year, Earl Granville was appointed Vice-President, and until the whole of the arrangements were completed he was one of the most diligent and hard-working of those engaged in the furtherance of this novel and noble scheme. It would, probably, have been difficult to place him in a position more likely to afford full scope for the social and administrative capacities of which he had given evidence. There was, not unnaturally, a great deal of jealousy among the representatives of the various nations with regard to priority of place, and to the relative importance of assignments; and in smoothing

over the difficulties which thus arose, the indefatigable patience and the courteous method of Earl Granville were of invaluable service. But whilst the arrangements for the great Exhibition of 1851 were still pending, questions of imperial interest brought Earl Granville still more fully before the public notice. In the year 1851, he had accepted a seat in the Liberal Cabinet, and notwithstanding the fact that the public interest was much diverted from politics at that time by the projected Exhibition, he came more prominently before Parliament and the people than he had done heretofore. In 1852, an event occurred which made his position still more prominent. There was at the time but little doubt felt by those who were acquainted with the inner working of ministerial machinery in England, that the split in the Cabinet, which took place in that year, was chiefly the result of a difference of opinion between Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston as to the desirability of the introduction of a measure of reform. Latterly all doubt on the subject has been set aside, and the condition of things then suspected by the initiated few has been publicly acknowledged and proclaimed. The foreign policy of Lord Palmerston had been very fairly satisfactory to the general public and his dismissal at this time was for the moment shrouded in an unnecessary mystery. Lord Russell acknowledged in the House that he had assumed the sole and entire responsibility of advising the Crown to require the resignation of his noble friend, and the ground on which this motion was taken was ostensibly that of Lord Palmerston's utterances to the French Ambassador with respect to the *coup d'état* of the Third Napoleon. Earl Granville succeeded the dismissed nobleman as Foreign Secretary; but the Ministry, in thus dispensing with the services of a powerful advocate, had raised an enemy of equal power, and found itself unable long to survive the retirement of Lord Palmerston. It came to pass, early in the Session of 1852, that Lord Lansdowne found himself compelled to announce in the House of Lords the declension of the Liberal Party from office, and the brief opportunity which had thus been allowed to Earl Granville was snatched away. The new Government was not destined to live long, and when, three months after its formation, Mr. Disraeli introduced his Budget the merciless and masterly criticism of Mr. Gladstone wrecked alike the financial scheme of the Conservative Chancellor and the Government he represented. The Earl of Aberdeen then formed a new Cabinet, offering to Earl Granville the post of President of the Council. Close upon the heels of this event came the Russian war, into which Lord Aberdeen found himself forced against his own strong personal will, and for some time the interest usually experienced in home politics was almost entirely set aside by the war-fever and by the wild gratification with which the news of victory after victory was received. In Parliament, as out of it, all the profounder interests of the time were centred on the war, and eventually the Government chief who had so reluctantly entered upon the conflict with Russia found himself ousted from power mainly by the action of the very proceedings against which he had so often uttered his own solemn and despairing protest. The events of that time are now fairly within the domain of history, the feelings which prompted the impeachment of the Government no longer hold sway over the public mind, and it may be acknowledged that the blame attached to administrators was somewhat unfairly overrated. The new Government selected to carry on the national business included many of the old names, and among them that of Earl Granville who, still retaining the position of Lord President of the Council, became now also the acknowledged ministerial leader in the House of Lords.

In the April of the following year peace was concluded with Russia. The anxieties and disasters of the war had beyond doubt hastened the close of the life of the Emperor Nicholas,

and shortly after the conclusion of the peace treaty, his son Alexander was invested with the imperial crown. National courtesy demanded that Great Britain should not be unrepresented on the occasion of the coronation, and Lord Granville was appointed as Envoy Extraordinary to Petersburg. The position, as may be readily imagined, was one of extreme delicacy. The pride of Russia had been so recently and so gravely humiliated, that the representative of the conquering Power was required to stand possessed of an unusually graceful and gracious tact, in order to preserve the friendly relations which had been established on terms so damaging to the great Eastern Empire. The fact that Earl Granville acquitted himself successfully in this most difficult of imaginable situations, is in itself a high testimonial to that suavity, gentleness, and patience of character which have been partly answerable for the distinguished nature of his public career.

In 1858, the attempt made by Felix Orsini to assassinate the Emperor of the French led to the resignation of the Palmerstonian Ministry. Orsini and the gang of scoundrels at whose head he stood had concocted their scheme and made their preparations for murder in the city of London. This fact naturally enough excited the indignation of the French people, who complained that no British law was in existence to prevent the preparations for such a crime being made in our capital city. In answer to these complaints, the Government introduced a Bill which would probably have been carried but for the ill-advised utterances of the French press, whose writers, notwithstanding all promises and protests, persisted in regarding the English Government as having been favourable to the attempted assassination. All this would have been treated with the silence it merited, had it not been that an article published in the *Moniteur* (and thus bearing a semi-official aspect), urging strongly the advisability of war with England, had aroused the pugnacious humours both of the House of Commons and the public, who in the face of the threats thus held out declined in any way to attempt to conciliate the French people. In that feeling Lord Palmerston did not share, and he accordingly pressed his measure forward. The sentiment of the time was too strong for him, and on the rejection of the Bill he tendered his resignation. Lord Granville, as a member of the Liberal Administration, of course retired with his colleagues. Almost immediately on the formation of the new Government, Mr. Disraeli was enabled to announce that the misunderstanding between the two peoples had been brought to an honourable and friendly close.

As the result of the general election of 1859, the reins of power were once more placed in the hands of the Liberal party. Some difficulty was experienced by Her Majesty in the formation of a new Cabinet. It was well known that for some time a coolness, which had narrowly escaped betraying itself in open rupture, had subsisted between Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, and it was also known that each of them had a strong objection to serve under the leadership of the other. A reconciliation had lately taken place between them, and public curiosity was much excited as to whether the active policy of Lord Russell or the passive Liberalism of Lord Palmerston would find favour with the Queen. Both noblemen had already been entrusted with the conduct of imperial affairs, and it was almost universally supposed that one or other would again be chosen. There was therefore a feeling of surprise in the public mind when it was known that Earl Granville had been sent for, and had been requested to form an Administration. The explanation of this proceeding was made known in a manner as peculiar as it was unprecedented. On the 11th of June, 1859, Her Majesty accorded to Earl Granville a private interview, in the course of which she very freely laid her views before him. To the surprise of Earl Granville himself among others, those views were

published in an account of the interview which appeared in the columns of the *Times* on the following day. From that account it appears that Her Majesty, after listening to all the objections which Lord Granville had to offer, commanded him to attempt to form an Administration which should at once be strong in ability and Parliamentary influence, and should at the same time comprehend within itself a full and fair representation of all the sections into which the Liberal party had notoriously become divided. Feeling probably that it might be urged as an objection to this course that Lord Granville, who had never yet held the office of Prime Minister, would thus be placed in a position paramount to that held by Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, each of whom had served her long and faithfully in many high offices of State, and who had each filled the office of first Minister of the Crown, Her Majesty was pleased to observe that she had in the first instance turned her thoughts towards Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Her Majesty felt however that to make so marked a distinction as would be implied in the choice of one or other, as a Prime Minister, of two statesmen so full of years and honours, and possessing so just a claim on her consideration, would be a very invidious and unwelcome task. Her Majesty also observed that Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston appeared to represent different sections of the Liberal party—Lord Palmerston the more Conservative, and Lord Russell the more popular section. Impressed with these difficulties, Her Majesty cast her eyes upon Lord Granville, the acknowledged leader of the Liberal party in the House of Lords, in whom both Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston had been in the habit of placing confidence, and who might have greater facilities for uniting the whole Liberal party under one Administration than could be enjoyed by either of the sectional leaders. A few days after the publication of this statement, it became the duty of Earl Derby officially to announce in the House of Lords the resignation of his party. In doing so he expressed his surprise that the conversation between Her Majesty and Earl Granville, which was apparently intended to be confidential, should thus have been made the property of the public. In answer to this, Lord Granville stated that permission had been accorded him by Her Majesty to make known her pleasure to his political colleagues. He had done so to several of his political and personal friends, and regretted that the news had found its way into the columns of any public organ. He did not think, however, that any harm could come of the publication of the result of the interview, since Her Majesty had displayed as strong a desire as ever to abide by the rules of the Constitution.

It now seemed for the time very probable that the new Liberal Ministry would fall under the conduct of Lord Granville. Lord Palmerston readily consented to the proposed arrangement, but Lord Russell refused to serve under the man of Her Majesty's choice, whilst he expressed his willingness to accept office under Lord Palmerston. The difficulty was thus bridged over, and the formation of a Ministry was entrusted to Palmerston, who offered for Earl Granville's acceptance his old position of President of the Council.

Lord Palmerston's mortal and political career closed together during the Parliamentary recess of 1865, in the eighty-first year of his age. There could be no doubt as to the appointment of his successor. Lord Russell had in the interval between the formation of the Ministry and the death of its chief been elevated to the House of Peers, and the leadership of the party was now placed in his hands. Equally as a matter of course, Mr. Gladstone accepted the leadership of the party in the Lower House. The Ministry thus re-formed did not long continue its rule. The Adullamites united with the Tory party to throw out the Reform Bill of Earl Russell, and Earl Granville once more retired with his party from power.

In 1862 the second of the great Exhibitions was held. Earl Granville had made himself so useful as Vice-Chairman of the Committee for the Exhibition of 1851, that his presence in some active and influential capacity on the new Committee appeared almost a necessity. The arrangements necessary were so many and so complicated, that they were begun at least a year and a half before the Exhibition was opened, and Earl Granville was appointed Chairman of the Committee. In that capacity he performed a great deal of work, very little of which came before the public, except in its results. The second of the great world-shows was opened under circumstances which contrasted sadly with those that surrounded the triumphal inauguration of the first. Prince Albert was dead. The absence of the Prince of Wales, who was travelling in Egypt, led to that of many sovereigns who had been expected to visit England at that time. The Queen was still in retirement, and even the untiring geniality of Earl Granville found it impossible to reconcile certain of the rival artists who were engaged to brighten and make glorious the inaugural ceremony. As an instance of the disagreeables to be contended with, may be mentioned the difficulties which were placed in the way of the performance of the Poet Laureate's Inaugural Ode. The music to this poem had been composed by Mr. Sterndale Bennett, but some personal dispute having at a former time taken place between him and Signor M. Costa, the latter refused to conduct the performance of the choir. When, in view of this refusal, M. Sainton was appointed as conductor, many people found ground for angry comment in the fact that a foreigner had a second time been chosen, and maintained that there were many Englishmen who were equally competent to the task. The Earl himself occupied the place which would have been assigned to the Prince Consort had he still been alive.

In 1868 he took office as Colonial Secretary in the greatest and most successful Ministry of modern times, and again became the leader of his party in the House of Lords. In the one great Parliamentary battle waged by the political parties of that day, which closed with the disestablishment of the Irish Church, he did great service to the Liberal cause, and more than once poured oil upon the troubled waters of debate. The conduct of the measure through the Upper Chamber necessarily fell upon him. The strong opposition which it naturally excited, and the strong feelings to which it gave rise, demanded that a more than commonly conciliatory and careful method should be employed. On the evening of Monday, the 11th of June, 1869, it fell to the duty of Lord Granville, who had spoken at great length on the subject in the preceding year, to bring forward the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords. The office was not altogether a gracious one, since if the measure were carried it removed some of his colleagues from their seats in the House. He was during its performance pale, nervous, and agitated, but that very agitation could not fail in itself to be accepted as the best evidence of the spirit in which the measure was brought forward. When the Bill, mutilated by the Lords, had been sent back to the House of Commons, and when by an overwhelming majority it had again been referred to the Upper Chamber, the debate increased in acrimony and in violence. One nobleman, who has not perhaps been remarkable for his legislative or oratorical abilities, indulged in such a tirade that his friends felt compelled to save him from himself by pulling him back into his seat. Even the temperate Duke of Argyll broke the promise made at the commencement of his speech, by which he pledged himself to avoid all angry expressions. Lord Granville, whose duty it was to reintroduce the Bill, endeavoured to propitiate their Lordships by the studied moderation of his tone, an attempt in which he was not wholly unsuccessful, although the amendments on which the Lords had already insisted were now confirmed by a majority of seventy-eight. Lord Granville at once moved the adjournment of the debate, in order that he might confer with his colleagues as to the course

to be adopted. Two days afterwards he was able to announce that he had, in the course of a conference with Lord Cairns, arrived at a compromise by means of which the honour of the opponents of the Bill was saved. That compromise was readily accepted, and the measure passed into law.

The colonial policy of Earl Granville was at one time subjected to a good deal of hostile criticism, not only by the Opposition, but by the press supporting the general cause of his own party. It was not a policy of acquirement, and presented no opportunity for brilliant strokes of administration. The task to which he had set himself was the gradual and gentle loosening of the bonds which held some of the colonies to the mother country. It was his purpose that they should be trained by a careful process to walk alone as it were, and little by little should assume the powers of self-government. Whether the strength or weakness of a great empire lies in the closeness of imperial relations with its colonies is not a question for discussion here. There are many to whom Lord Granville's action appeared unwise, and to whom the facilities afforded for emigration by our ample colonial possessions have appeared of more than sufficient weight to atone for all responsibilities entailed by them. To another, and possibly a larger section of the public, Lord Granville's colonial policy was a step towards the realisation of a great ideal—that of a world-wide empire, integral in feeling, bound by the strong bonds of kinship and a common language, and yet distinct in responsibility in its various parts; mutually helpful; a vast tacit confederation.

In 1870, on the death of the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Granville accepted the appointment of Foreign Secretary, and held that office until the defeat of the Liberal Ministry at the general election of 1874.

Earl Granville has held many offices of honour. Amongst them have been those of Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Constable of Dover Castle, Chancellor of the University of London, Master of the Buckhounds, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Treasurer of the Navy, and Paymaster-General of the Forces.

He has been twice married. In 1840 he wedded Marie Louise Peline, the only child of the Due de Dalberg, and widow of Sir F. R. E. Acton. That lady died in 1860, and five years after her death Lord Granville was married to Castalia Rosalind, youngest daughter of Mr. Walter Campbell of Islay.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.]



George

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.

FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, Commander-in-Chief, is a grandson of King George the Third, and a first cousin of Her Majesty the Queen. He is Earl of Tipperary and Baron of Culloden, in the United Kingdom, a Knight of the Garter and of St. Patrick, a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath and of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, Grand Master of St. Michael and St. George, and a Privy Councillor of Her Majesty. His military appointments are the Colonels of the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, and Grenadier Guards. He is Chief Ranger of St. James's, Hyde, and Richmond Parks, as the Royal subscription "George," to all the public regulations and notices, will have often reminded the frequenters of these pleasant resorts.

As ~~President of the~~ National Rifle Association, and as Honorary Colonel of one of the smartest and most efficient of our volunteer corps, the London Rifle Brigade, His Royal Highness has taken great interest in the promotion and maintenance of that truly national force which has for its patriotic motto, "Defence, not Debauchery." Too practical and unflinching to flatter the vanity of citizen soldiers, he has yet never unduly deprecated the revenue it which has placed under arms a large proportion of the country's independent manhood; and he has heartily encouraged the practice of rifle shooting. Those votes of thanks which are periodically passed to the Commander-in-Chief for having taken the chair in the theatre of the Victoria and Albert Institution, at meetings of the National Rifle Association, have not been without real significance; for in giving his time to such business the Duke of Cambridge has not wasted his thoughtful attention and valuable advice. Indeed, an hereditary character for thoroughness in the discharge of multifarious duties distinguishes the Duke in a remarkable degree. Whether in any of the posts we have mentioned, or as President of the Royal Military College, or of the Royal Military Asylum, or of Christ's Hospital, or of King's College, His Royal Highness enters with earnestness into the responsibilities of his office; and were he to any governing committee or council who should invite the patronage of his name without reckoning on his personal inquiry into the management of the institution he is desired to sanction and publicly to recommend. The governor of a certain great establishment, not many years ago, was put to terrible perturbation by the unexpected questions of the Duke, on the occasion of an annual festival. Not satisfied with a humdrum address, and a crooked report, the Duke wanted to know an infinity of things that none of the officials seemed able to tell him; and observing an accumulation of dirt in a corner near one of the doorways through which he was being conducted, he halted abruptly, and drew attention to this ill-concealed blot upon the whitened sepulchre.

Prince George Frederick William Charles, second Duke of Cambridge, was born at Hanover on the 26th of March, 1819; and succeeded his father, Prince Adolphus Frederick, in July, 1840. His mother is a Princess of Hesse, daughter of the Landgrave Frederick, and is now in



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her seventy-eighth year. The issue of her union with the late Duke has been one son, the subject of this biography, and two daughters, the Princess Augusta, who was married in 1843 to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and the Princess Mary Adelaide Wilhelmina Elizabeth, born eleven years after her sister, and married to Prince Francis Paul, now Duke of Teck. Excepting the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz, who has only paid occasional visits to England since her marriage, all those members of the Cambridge family who have here been named are pleasantly linked with London memories. The first Duke, for some years Viceroy of Hanover, passed the lusty winter of his life, "frosty but kindly," in the genial patronage and aid of many charitable institutions in this metropolis. His residence for a long time was that broad stone mansion which stands back from Piccadilly in an old-fashioned courtyard, and which has borne the name of Cambridge House. Simple in his tastes, kind and affable in his manner, warm of heart, strong of affection and attachment to kindred, beloved in his domestic circle, and generally liked outside of it, the fifth son of George the Third probably displayed throughout his life, more strikingly than did any of his brothers, the amiable qualities which history attributes to their father. Without any great or remarkable powers of intellect, the first Duke of Cambridge was uniformly regarded with the respect due to his rank, and the esteem which was the proper tribute of his virtues. The distinguishing feature of his social life was the share he took in the more scientific musical pleasures of the metropolis. He had inherited that love of music, and had attained that proficiency in the art, for which so many of his race, before and since his day, have been remarkable. The Royal family were the steady friends and patrons of Händel when he was deserted by the bulk of the English aristocracy. George the Third was a thorough Händelian, conversant with the great master's works, and well able to interpret them. The "Farmer King" was, among other things, a magnificent organist. His sons were masters of several instruments. George the Fourth played the violoncello with taste and skill. The Duke of Cambridge was equally proficient as a performer on the violin. Both these Royal brothers were accustomed to execute, with the most eminent musicians of the day, the quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and the other great composers. Prince George of Cumberland, Crown Prince of Hanover, who was one of the circle of amateurs, was not merely an amateur; he held his own among artists of the highest class. The faculty has descended to the third and fourth generation. Her Majesty Queen Victoria, both as singer and pianist, is probably not surpassed by any lady in her dominions. Music was one of the chief—indeed, it was the chief—of those innocent social enjoyments in which the Duke of Cambridge delighted. In Parliament he seldom spoke. After his return to England he was, however, constant in his attendance at the House of Lords, and a frequent visitor to the House of Commons. His customary seat in the Upper Chamber was on what are technically called the cross benches; but he was much in the habit of passing round the House, shaking hands with one peer, holding a few minutes' friendly intercourse with another, during the time even of a debate. His quick joyous laugh was often heard in the galleries, and was not seldom misinterpreted by the speakers.

Cambridge House, on the long balcony in front of which, year after year, in the old Duke's life, grew luxuriant masses of the common red nasturtium amid its tenderly vivid greenery, passed away from the family on the death of its patriarch, and became the residence of Lord Palmerston. It is now a club. The ducal mansion is Gloucester House, at the corner of Park Lane. A quiet green, chesnut-shaded place, up the Thames—a suburb of the "Old Court suburb," so to speak—rejoices much in the countenance of the Cambridge family. Schools and churches are founded and looked after by the popular Duke of Teck and his Duchess, the

Princess Mary of Cambridge, who carries sunshine and cheerfulness wherever she goes. The Duke of Cambridge is oftener seen, during the long London season, in the neighbourhood of the West End, where the well-known face which accompanies this brief biographical sketch is known to every passer-by. Ready as was his father to acknowledge every salutation, to recognise every acquaintance, the Duke, riding, driving, or walking, raises his right hand in a brisk, short, business-like salute, a hundred times a day. His soldierly bearing is no vain assumption, but a real index to habit and character. Men of his own profession, the best qualified to pronounce upon merits which fit one of themselves for high command, and the most familiar with official routine in military concerns, speak with praise of his assiduity, his talent for organisation, his love of order, his strict adherence to approved method, his forethought and sagacity, his keen observation of passing events, his devotion to duty. These qualifications for the control of an army are accompanied by a deference, somewhat rare in a precise disciplinarian, to the opinion of others. He has even been thought to err on the side of a susceptibility to the transient and uncertain currents of the public voice; and strict as he is in all matters of regulation, he is almost entirely free from that dread of change which has often prevented or delayed great improvements in the British army. It has been aptly remarked that the very beard which adds manly dignity to the comeliness of features that were always handsome is itself an evidence of good-will in regard to all useful and sensible reforms; and it is well calculated to inspire confidence in a Commander-in-Chief that the higher we seek an opinion of the Duke's fitness for his responsible post, the more decidedly in his favour we find that opinion to be. The late Sir Henry Storks, himself a distinguished administrator of military affairs, had an unbounded faith in the Duke of Cambridge; and his strong belief in the capabilities of his Royal Highness, as head of the army, was and is shared by military secretaries and all those persons who to the soldierly qualities of the officer add the trained business-like aptitude of the official. The moral condition of the army owes much of its undoubted progress to the influence of the Commander-in-Chief; and the strong aversion he is known to entertain for gambling has in a great measure helped to remove the stigma of that vice from the service, it being well understood that the practice of betting is one of the chief bars to promotion. A genial temper, frank even to bluntness, has gained the Duke a popularity with all classes, as well as among soldiers of every rank. That "jollity," proverbially common to "the Cambridges"—on whom, when the Queen and her immediate family were plunged into deep sorrow, devolved much weight of laborious social duties—is especially prized by the English nation, notwithstanding the curious fact that we have in our language no perfect equivalent for that word "*bonhomie*," which defines the very quality we most admire.

The Parliamentary question of an allowance for the young Duke of Cambridge arose speedily after the old Duke's death, and Lord John Russell proposed that the Duke should be £12,000 a year. Mr. Bright, whom Lord John must have wished at the time in Rochdale, argued against an allowance so liberal; and Mr. Hume, whose saving tendencies and thrifty precepts caused him to be regarded among the *Patres Conscripti* very much as a mother-in-law, would have had the vote reduced to £8,000. The feeling of the House was wholly with Lord John. Not one word was said against the Duke of Cambridge; indeed, both Mr. Hume and Mr. Bright spoke highly of his good qualities, and urged the amendment in language that could not but have been gratifying to his family. On a division only 53 votes were given on the side of Mr. Hume, the number against him being 266; and the Royal allowance was fixed at the figure proposed by the Prime Minister and approved by Mr. Disraeli.

At the outbreak of the Crimean war the Duke was thirty-five years of age, and he had already gained the reputation of diligence and zeal in his profession, nay, even of that foresight which marks a soldier for command. He had the military eye. Lord Raglan told Mr. Kinglake—to whose history of the Crimean invasion we turn for facts relating to this epoch of the Duke's life—that, three weeks before the mighty onslaught of the Russian troops which commenced the battle of Inkerman, His Royal Highness had shown exceeding anxiety about the position, insomuch that, in deference to his pressing advice, precautionary measures were taken. The Duke of Cambridge commanded the famous brigade of Guards. Originally, as the name very plainly implies, the peculiar duty of the Guards was the defence of the Sovereign against all personal danger. It has always been felt that by the special appointment of a select and privileged part of the army to this distinctive service, in all countries acknowledging a legitimate and hereditary sway, not only is safety for the Crown insured in troublous times, but a wholesome emulation is preserved among the forces, no tradition of loyal rivalry being more jealously maintained on both sides than that which exists between the Guards and the Line. Of course the set-off to this advantage is the risk of any grave disaster to such a favoured reserve of military strength. Should any such misfortune befall a corps thus honoured and set apart, the moral effect on other regiments might, and no doubt would, be ruinous. With what anxious though proud emotions, then, our countrymen saw the Household Brigade go forth to take part in the perils of the Russian war, the youngest of this generation may easily suppose. Three battalions only of the seven which constitute the entire corps, and which are distributed into the three several regiments of Grenadiers, Coldstream Guards, and Scots Fusiliers, were dispatched on the expedition. Each regiment, that is to say, sent one of its battalions, not quite half the brigade being represented at the seat of war, while the other half remained at home.

Such experience as could be gained by constant practice of military duties in England, and in time of peace, was the possession of the Duke of Cambridge; and he had made the most of it. Some time before the tranquillity of Europe was overthrown by the great quarrel between Russia and the allied powers of England, France, Italy, and Turkey, the Duke had given satisfactory proof of that faculty of moving troops which is one great and essential requirement in a general officer. In his first action, the battle of Alma, the Duke deployed his division with admirable skill, justifying fully and splendidly the opinions which had been formed by the most competent judges as to his soldierly qualities and his responsible fitness for a most important and onerous command. Not only to the Duke of Cambridge but to more than half the army who landed at Eupatoria the reality of war was a new thing. It is related that when the first shot was fired which broke the long peace of European nations, and when an English trooper fell dead in his saddle, those who beheld the incident were unable for the time to realise the true fact, and supposed that the man had been seized with a fit; and this, too, although the boom of the gun was sounding in their ears. A much younger officer than the Duke of Cambridge, the son of a Dean in the English Church, had tried to philosophise himself into a courageous fitness for encountering everything that could possibly happen. His education had taught him that only the unknown is feared; and he believed that if, by a vigorous and determined effort of imagination, he could only manage to familiarise his mind with all the details of carnage, before the battle began, nothing would cause his heart to fail. He had pursued this idea with so much earnestness, that he quite believed he had pictured to himself all the scenes that could possibly meet his eye. But the very first of those scenes drove the colour from his cheeks, for he had never thought of it. Scarcely had the order for his regiment

to advance been given when he, a boy of high sensibilities and culture, happened to glance in the direction of the camp, whence presently emerged, "at the double," a noiseless party of orderlies carrying litters; and the business-like ghastliness of this foregone conclusion came with so rude a shock that, as he has often since declared, it struck terror into his heart. Less than ten minutes afterwards he was in a *mêlée*, fighting hand to hand with Russian soldiers, and all his fear had gone.

Those who best know the Duke of Cambridge are well assured that he shares in the personal courage of his race. It is admitted that he was utterly careless of his own life when in action, but it has been said that he was too liable to be wrung by the weight of a command which charged him with the lives of other men. This, at least, is the view that has been taken by the eminent historian we have already named, who argues that the task of a general is the more difficult for any excess of kindness belonging to his nature. What he has to do is to try to overcome the enemy by exposing his own men to all needful risks. He must be ready and even eager to bring these people to the deadliest issues without betraying a single pang; however certain it may be that his gentleness will overcome him on the morrow, "it is well for him to be able to pass through the bloodiest hours of battle with something of a ruthless joy." Mr. Kinglake's theory is that the Duke of Cambridge showed himself "wanting in this kind of truculence;" but, despite his anxious temperament, and the eagerness of his desire to judge aright, it has not been shown, by the hardest of those few military censors who deny him such unqualified praise as the oldest soldiers have been quick to bestow, that he was wanting in coolness and decision when the fighting was most critical. While complimenting the Duke on his exemption from "that vulgar and selfish ambition which will often drive a man to break through doubts and scruples, and will generally impel him to strain after occasions for acting on his own judgment," Mr. Kinglake has erred in supposing that His Royal Highness was embarrassed by the want of precise orders from Lord Raglan. The "precise orders," or order, had been received; and it was obeyed to the letter. The support which was to be given to the Light Division *was* given, so long as that service conformed with more definite instructions as to the position which the Guards were to maintain. The Duke of Cambridge, when he stopped his forces at the Vineyards, did precisely that which Lord Raglan had ordered him to do. An anecdote which Mr. Kinglake introduces, and which has been repeated again and again when the story of the battle of Alma has been told, is probably apocryphal; but, at any rate, it has no application to the Duke, whose name is erroneously involved. It is said by Mr. Kinglake that "an officer of comparatively subordinate rank, in the hearing both of the Duke of Cambridge and of a veteran officer, whose counsels, with a wise and graceful deference, the Duke loved to seek," uttered the words, "The Brigade of Guards will be destroyed; ought it not to fall back?" and that Sir Colin Campbell—for he was the "veteran officer" to whom reference is made—answered in a loud and impassioned voice, "It is better, sir, that every man of Her Majesty's Guards should lie dead upon the field than that they should now turn their backs upon the enemy." At the time when this conversation is supposed to have taken place, the Duke was at least half a mile from Sir Colin Campbell. But, whatever the origin of the doubtful and, in one particular, certainly inaccurate report may have been, it is beyond question true that the advance was continued, and the famous encounter of the Grenadier Guards in line with the Vladimir column on the Kourgané Hill ensued. All know how that column was crushed, scattered, and swept away, before the tall line of bearskins, whose quick march upon the shattered centre of the foe has been all but found fault with for being too grand

and stately. Soon afterwards the Duke of Cambridge stood master of the Great Redoubt. That His Royal Highness was greatly moved by the sufferings of his division, and by the risk of almost total destruction which it had to encounter, is well known; but it is at the same time equally a matter of note that he led his men into action in a manner that won their confidence, together with the praise of those distinguished officers with whom he served.

At Inkerman the Duke of Cambridge was actively engaged, and had a horse shot under him. In the darkness of a densely foggy November morning that great battle, which on our side was for some time scarcely supposed to be anything more than a skirmish, began. Very differently regarded was the affair on the Russian side. Gathering silently in the night, those Muscovite troops, "consecrated for battle," and cheered by the presence of two Grand Dukes, knew well that they were about to engage in an action that might turn the fortunes of the war. They believed, indeed, that it must and would have this effect, and that the issue would be a great victory for them, for their faith, and for the Emperor, whom they were taught to worship as a deity. Religious ceremonies had prepared them for this encounter with a foe whose very footing on the Crimea was regarded as a sacrilege. One huge column of soldiery moved out from Sebastopol, another came down from the north and from the Tchernaya Valley; a third, destined to be inactive, assembled opposite Balaklava, and the Sapouné heights; while the garrison of the fortress stood ready to make sorties. Silence, indeed, had been broken by the ringing of bells, and by the dull noise of moving multitudes; and as these warning sounds reached the wakeful ears of our pickets due notice of them was sent in. Still no unusual steps were taken, and it was not till the crackle of musketry was heard through the fog that the allies became aware of an impending attack. Practically, the huge columns and strong array of hostile batteries were almost in position before their presence was discovered. But it chanced that Captain Goodlake, with thirty men of the Guards—a sort of scout corps he had been allowed to organise—was a mile in front of the pickets covering the British left; and the soldierly second-sight of that officer, guided by the ominous though suppressed noises that met his ear, detected the march of the nearly silent battalions. He sent off a soldier with the information, and opened fire with his handful of rifles. The faint rattle drew the attention of Codrington, in whose front it sprang up, and shortly the whole camp, as well as the picket line, woke to life and bustle. When day broke, and the fog began to lift its heavy folds, the sentries of the 41st, on Shell Hill, found columns of the enemy close upon them; and they also fired and gave ground slowly before the advancing masses. On the Russian right flank, towards Balaklava, Prince Gortschakoff had developed a great force at dawn. But it does not appear to have imposed either on the Duke of Cambridge, whose Guards overlooked the valley, or on General Bosquet, who rested on the Col, with his corps. The Guards were early on the Inkerman front; and Bosquet, it seems, ordered a force to move in the same direction. Mr. Kinglake, in his recently published fifth volume, which deals wholly with the battle of Inkerman, says, at this critical point:—"Near the Windmill, however, an unfortunate rencounter took place. Bosquet there met Sir George Brown and Sir George Cathcart, and hastened to proffer his aid, informing the two generals that he was already followed by some infantry and artillery, and that if the operation, then commenced on Mount Inkerman, should prove to be the real attack, he could withdraw other troops from the positions they then occupied. Sir George Brown and Sir George Cathcart took upon themselves to decline the offer. They said, it appears, that the English had sufficient reserves at hand; and added a request that, instead of advancing to the scene of the conflict, Bosquet would be pleased to watch the ground in rear of Canrobert's Redoubt. Brown

and Cathcart, it would seem, must have spoken under the impulse of a feeling of pride, which, however perturbing to the judgment, must still in a way be admired, because it is a main ingredient in that wonderful assemblage of qualities which makes the British soldier what he is; and, indeed, this answer to Bosquet was not unlike such as might have come from two superb sergeants or privates, who had found themselves asked to acknowledge that the English wanted help from a Frenchman." The result of that same "unfortunate encounter," near the Windmill, was the partial deprivation of French aid to the English for nearly three hours.

That fierce and sanguinary struggle which Mr. Kinglake so circumstantially describes, with a plain purpose to fit all the details into one unalterable theory, has, by other writers, been pronounced indescribable. "It was," said Mr. Russell, the accomplished and trustworthy correspondent of the *Times*, "a series of dreadful deeds of daring, of sanguinary hand-to-hand fights, of despairing rallies, of desperate assaults, in glens and valleys, in brushwood glades and remote dells, hidden from all human eyes, and from which the conquerors, Russian or British, issued only to engage fresh foes, till our old supremacy, so rudely assailed, was triumphantly asserted, and the battalions of the Czar gave way before our steady courage and the chivalrous fire of France. No one, however placed, could have witnessed even a small portion of the doings of this eventful day, for the vapour, fog, and drizzling mist obscured the ground where the struggle was waged to such an extent as to render it impossible to see what was going on at the distance of a few yards." Yet this confused action, "wild and disorderly," is by Mr. Kinglake reduced with laboured precision into no fewer than seven distinct, well-defined periods. Far different was Colonel Hamley's appreciation of the battle, when he told us that colonels of regiments led on small parties and fought like subalterns, captains like privates; that, once engaged, every man was his own general.

"Linked in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well."

This, as Mr. Kinglake himself shows, was the kind of fighting which went on about the Sandbag Battery. Each separate gathering of soldiery went on "fighting its own little battle, in happy and advantageous ignorance of the general state of the action." First the battery was occupied by the Russians, who were driven out by Adams and the 11st; then they got in again, driving back Adams in turn; then the Duke of Cambridge led two batteries of the Guards over the brow of the hill, and the Grenadiers, in a dashing charge, drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. But the Russians were resolute, and, with triumphant hurrahs, again entered the work. They had been enabled to rally under shelter of the steep ground below the Battery, and of the dense oak scrub that clothed the hill-side. The next capture was effected by the Scots Fusilier Guards, who were scarcely in possession before they were obliged to relinquish it, and, with the Grenadiers, to retire to the high ground. With exulting cheers the Russians pressed up in swarms, till they got within a few yards of the "knotted line" of Guardsmen, who plied them with musketry as long as they could find cartridges. But the combatants on both sides were running short of ammunition. Then, what the brilliant writer calls "the Homeric resource" of hurling fragments of rock against each other was adopted by the opposing forces. The next capture was impetuously made by the Grenadiers, who, seeing a fresh line of bearskins—those of the Coldstream Guards—coming up, would not wait for the support. Soon again, as it had happened before, there were Russians firing into the work through its two embrasures, or over the parapet where it sloped away low at each flank. Once more the Russians

were masters of the battery, but only to be driven out by the Grenadiers, aided this time by the 20th and 95th; and there was a gallant but ill-advised charge with the bayonet, which led to a great deal more fighting. With much minuteness, these fights about the Sandbag Battery are described by Mr. Kinglake; and it is then shown how, in a "false victory," gained by a sort of savage rush upon the surrounding column, the force collected was scattered to the winds in pursuit. The Duke of Cambridge, the colours, and about a hundred men alone remained. His Royal Highness was still unaware of the perils now closely surrounding him, when all at once he heard some one near him say, "Sir, you will be taken!" In the teeth of the interposed force the men had to force their way up the hill, the Duke and the colours scraping past the flanking enemy, while others cut their way through as best they might. During the retreat of the Duke with the colours, Captain Burnaby, with thirty men, seeing their danger, actually charged an oncoming force, and, what is even more extraordinary, escaped alive. The Duke was vexed at the dispersion of the Guards; but Colonel Percy Herbert cheerily said, "The Guards, sir, will be sure to turn up;" and the prophecy was fulfilled. "Still," says Mr. Kinglake, "His Royal Highness was not a man so constituted as to be able to gaze with unrestrained emotion when he saw, coming out of the dimness and slowly approaching him, a little body of uniformed soldiers—mainly Bearskins, but a few of the Line—and with them two standards, the colours of the Grenadier Guards. The apostrophe which broke from his lips was marked with religious fervour, and, indeed, he half borrowed church language for the utterance of his soldierly joy. But the Duke, if more vehement than others, was not alone in his rapture. From all—and many stood near—there was an outburst of admiration, and praise, and thankfulness, to greet the small band of Guardsmen and other intermixed soldiery coming quietly in with the colours, and driving before them the prisoners they had been able to take, whilst fighting their way home from the battery." With the battle of Inkerman, the Duke's actual connection with the Crimean campaign may be said almost to have closed.

His health shortly afterwards became impaired, and the medical authorities ordered him to Pera for change of air. Thence, having found but little relief, he proceeded to Malta, whence he was soon directed to return to England. Before the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate the manner in which the Crimean campaign had been conducted, the Duke gave valuable evidence. In November, 1857, he was presented with the freedom of the City of London, and was entertained at a banquet by the Lord Mayor. The resignation of Lord Hardinge opened the question whether the Prince Consort or the Duke of Cambridge should receive the appointment of Commander-in-Chief; but the choice, having fallen on the latter, met with almost universal approbation. He has shown his high sense of the trust reposed in him by doing all in his power to promote the comfort and welfare of the ranks, and to raise in every way the efficiency of the English army,

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.]



Manchester



Mane Lister

THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.

THE RIGHT REV. JAMES FRASER, D.D., Bishop of Manchester, is a representative man of an unusually pronounced type. The phrase by which Carlyle very aptly described one side of Dr. Samuel Johnson's character may be fitly used to denote the chief characteristic of Manchester's Bishop. He is "orthodox religious, with his eyes open." There is nothing more tempting and nothing more difficult to resist than the tendency which besets all men to fall into the phraseology and the manner of thought which especially signalise the body to which they belong. Either by native strength or by continual watchfulness, Dr. Fraser has been enabled to steer clear of this failing. He is emphatically a Churchman, but he is none the less, in the nobler meaning of the word, a man of the world. He is but little tinctured with the colour of the schools, and cares but little for the extreme niceties of theology. Taking his stand upon the broad and permanent elements of the faith, he is content to allow the theologian scientist to argue or to leave unargued the questions of "anise and cummin." With regard to the weightier matters of the law he is, and always has been, most thoroughly and intensely in earnest. Endowed with physical powers commensurate with his own zeal and inward energy, he has thrown himself into the forefront of the world's battle, not as a theologian, but as a man amongst men, and there is probably no other English bishop who commands so large a share of the sympathies of the ordinary run of people as he. His sturdy common sense, his contempt for sacerdotal assumption, his insatiable appetite for work, his freshness, decision, and vigour have combined to make him a popular favourite. For the place he holds he is eminently fitted. The catholicity of his sympathies, and the character of his mental method—at once broad in grasp and methodical in execution—have stood him in good stead in the course of the work which falls to his share in a diocese which includes one of the busiest and most crowded centres of English commercial life.

He was born in the year 1818 at Prestbury, near Cheltenham, and began his education at Bridgenorth and Shrewsbury Grammar Schools. From the latter place he went to Lincoln College, Oxford, where at the age of one-and-twenty he took the Ireland Scholarship. In the same year he received the degree of B.A. with a first class in classics. In the year following (1840) he was elected a Fellow of Oriel College, and remained at the university seven years longer. In 1847 he was presented by his college to the rectory of Cholderton, a Wiltshire village, containing at the time of his incumbency thirty-five houses only, and a population of 175. Limited as was this sphere of labour, the experience gained in it was turned to excellent account in later days; and the rectory to which he was after a space of thirteen years transferred, gave still further scope for the acquisition of a special knowledge of the habits and feelings of the rural poor. In 1858, two years before his resignation of the incumbency at Cholderton, he was appointed Chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral, and in 1860 he became rector of Upton

Nervet, Berkshire, a village of about 400 inhabitants. In the same year he was made Prebendary of Salisbury. The work performed during the time spent in the two little villages we have named is not at all to be estimated by the number of people under his spiritual charge. The industry of which he has since given such striking proof could not have allowed him to rest idle even in these sleepy scenes, and indeed the sphere of his duties was already widening. In 1854 he was Select Preacher to the University of Oxford, and his published sermons already give evidence of rare vigour of understanding and freshness of thought. He was as yet, however, scarcely to be described as a public man. His solidity and originality were gradually bringing him into popular notice, when from his place at the parsonage of that little village in Wiltshire he was called to take part in the inquiry into the state of popular education conducted by the Commission of 1858-60. For the branch of this work which fell to his share his training up to this time had very remarkably fitted him. His inquiries in his new capacity of Assistant Commissioner had chiefly to be made in rural districts of a character greatly resembling that of the ground with which his eleven years' experience had made him so intimately acquainted. The last inquiry into the educational condition of the country had been made in 1851, in connection with the taking of the census, but its results could scarcely be described as satisfactory. With relation to the educational machinery of the country an inquiry so conducted could scarcely be expected to return any very valuable information. Nor was the nature of such information as that limited investigation brought to light at all calculated to please the advocates of education. A lamentable amount of ignorance was discovered, and one good result was thus gained in the awakening of many who had hitherto been unaware of the darkened condition of the populace of our rural districts and of the poorer quarters of our towns. The school system of that time was remarkably lame and imperfect, and in many cases the stipend offered to schoolmaster or schoolmistress was so ridiculously small as to forbid any competent teacher from applying for the post. Even at the time of that later inquiry in which Mr. Fraser bore a part, things were not much better. In his report it is stated that he found schoolmistresses holding office on a stipend of £12, and in some cases of £10 per annum—a fact which must have been well enough known to departmental authorities, but which needed to be made public in the report of the Commission before it was thought advisable to take notice of it. But even under these unfavourable and depressing circumstances the growth of education had not been utterly retarded. Private benevolence had done something to relieve the strait into which educational matters had fallen, and Mr. Fraser was able to report that, so far as he could gather, the growth of schools had even anticipated the growth of the population.

In most rural districts there has been, and even under the Education Act which now prevails there still is, a great amount of difficulty experienced in inducing the parents of children to send them to school. The apathy with which the rural Briton regards education can scarcely be wondered at, when it is remembered in what a fashion he himself has been reared, and by how sadly narrow a horizon his life is bounded. Mr. Fraser, in the course of his report, laments that children are kept at home on the most frivolous pretexts, and that parents are utterly blind to the advantages of education, and utterly careless, as a natural consequence, about securing them for their children. With that fatal readiness to confess to poverty which marks the agricultural labourer, the plea almost invariably put forward was that of inability to pay the fees. The fees at this time averaging some twopence per week, this plea seemed to the inquiring Assistant Commissioner scarcely probable, but his knowledge of the poor supplied him with the explanation. The fact was that the difficulty of clothing the children decently was the one which most

strongly operated against their attendance at school. In country districts, where roads are ill-made, and the distances from place to place are considerable, this was a difficulty which it was almost impossible to combat. As the report points out, there are no ragged schools in rural districts, and a sense of shame (in spite of that facility of confession just alluded to), on the part both of parents and children, rendered the problem of regular attendance a still harder one to solve. Amongst other suggestions offered in his report, Mr. Fraser urged the desirability of the payment of fees monthly, or even quarterly, instead of weekly. One effect of this would, undoubtedly, have been that the parent would have been more conscious of the importance of getting his money's worth in some form from the schoolmaster or mistress to whom he paid it, but its general adoption would probably have given greater weight to the plea of poverty than it had before possessed. The payment of a penny or twopence per week is not an impossible achievement for the worst paid of agricultural labourers, but the payment of a lump sum at the end of the quarter would be likely to be regarded by him in that light. The feasibility of the plan depended upon the providence of the labourer—a very broken reed indeed. The suggestion was not, however, made by Mr. Fraser in a merely theoretical way. Cases are cited in the course of the report where the proposed method of payment had been adopted, and had been attended with the happiest results. Another suggestion, appealing much more strongly and more generally to the feeling of the Commissioners, was that for the establishment of district or central schools, and yet another, which met with almost universal approbation, was that the salaries of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses should be increased. The reader will easily conceive the value a schoolmistress would be inclined to set upon an additional £5 per annum when in receipt of such a stipend as that already mentioned. Mr. Fraser's report occupies the place of honour in the Parliamentary record of the labour of the Commission, and displays great industry in research, and a very remarkable method and order. But the quality which most strikes the reader is not its lucidity or its completeness, admirable as it is in each respect, so much as a general and prominent sense of candour and openness to conviction in the writer.

Before any one had foreseen the educational debates which occupied the public mind in England in 1871, and which are not even yet by any means over in certain quarters, Mr. Fraser had had occasion to give decisive expression to his own opinion on many debateable questions, and it is beyond doubt that the public opinion on some sides of that many-sided question was moulded by the influence of his conclusions. Those conclusions were matured in the course of the visit to Canada made by him in the year 1865 as a member of the Schools Enquiry Commission. The chief outlines of the educational system in Canada and the United States he found to be very similar to those of other countries. In point of fact the projectors of the school system there appear to have made an endeavour to compress into their own the various excellences of all the methods of tuition and aids to learning of various national systems. A Canadian authority, quoted by Mr. Fraser, says: "We are indebted in a great degree to New York for the machinery of our schools, to Massachusetts for the principle on which they are conducted, to Ireland for an admirable series of common school-books, and to Germany for the system of normal school training." The report presented by Mr. Fraser is chiefly interesting on account of his deliverances respecting the question of the possible character of education in rate-aided schools. That is the problem which has in almost every town in England divided opinions for the past four years, and still bids fair to divide it. Mr. Fraser's statement is all the more important and weighty because it was delivered before the heat of debate was felt in anything

like the fierceness of the past few years. He writes, "The establishment of rate-aided schools must, I think, lead, by a logical and moral necessity, to merely secular education." The maintenance of a denominational system would, he argues, become impossible when the schools are supported by all denominations, a prediction which has with sufficient force been realised at home. He regrets the fact, but accepts it as inevitable, that "there seems to be no middle course between purely denominational and purely secular." He is not, indeed, frightened by the thought of secular education, and he does not anticipate from it the terrible consequences which the melancholy vaticinations of many most excellent people might lead us to expect. That there should be no possible medium between the purely secular and the purely denominational he regards as a thing to be lamented, and he speaks of it as "the *penalty* of the divided state of the Christian Church." In his own hopeful and manly way he is, however, prepared to encounter that which he regards as the inevitable. Nor does he by any means regard it as an unmixed evil. He accepts it, on the contrary, as a great good, and is not inclined overmuch to lament that in this imperfect world he has found one thing more which refuses to be made perfect. He points out the fact that the one pre-eminent difficulty which he has himself experienced as a preacher of the Gospel has existed in the utterly unreceptive nature of the uneducated. It is not difficult to conceive the terribly depressing effect exerted on the earnest and intense nature of the present Bishop of Manchester, by the fact that he was compelled to preach to a congregation, nine-tenths of whom were unable to follow an argument, to appreciate a strictly logical conclusion, to be touched by pathos, or roused by earnestness. In order fully to appreciate Mr. Fraser's view, unless the reader happen to concur in it, it will be necessary to take into consideration the experience so sadly gained in the course of his eleven years' ministration at Cholderton, where he preached year after year—with what sense of discomfiture only the earnest man who has fought the same sad fight can know—to a gathering composed mainly of ignorant and unsympathetic people, who were unsympathetic only because they were ignorant, and who were too much absorbed in their own sordid and narrow cares to care for or to understand the vital truths which he, with every art of eloquence and persuasion, endeavoured to impress upon them. With such an experience Mr. Fraser found himself ready to accept any sort of education rather than none. "Against stupidity," says Schiller, "even the gods fight in vain." And the densely ignorant and impenetrable stolidity of the English rustic has declared itself as the most terrible of the foes which many an earnest and pious clergyman has sorrowfully and bravely encountered. Mr. Fraser felt strongly the unfairness of calling upon ratepayers of other denominations to support the views held by members of the Established Church. He recognised with equal clearness the necessity for the introduction of an active and powerful agency, which should banish the ignorance and stolidity under which he had so painfully suffered, and should bequeath in its stead a capacity at least, if not a predisposition, to receive a truth when presented "in a manner at once logical and homely. He was prepared, therefore, to accept even a completely secular form of education, in default of a better, desiring, far more than the triumph of any section of the Church over the others, "a real quickening of the minds of the people." These conclusions are expressed in a report of somewhat unusual length, and much more than average ability.

The general conclusions at which Mr. Fraser arrived, with respect to the correspondence of the American School System with the phenomena and the principles of American life, are full of interest, and appear to be well founded. The principles on which, in the summing up of his report, he chiefly insists, are those of perfect social equality and absolute religious freedom.

The phenomena are the restlessness and activity of the American character; on which he remarks that it possesses the active and restless versatility of the old Athenians, without their culture and refinement. He quotes the words used to him by an American in course of conversation: "The only lesson we are taught through life is to be *discontented* with our station." It is this temper, he believes, which, more than anything else—intensified as it is by the opportunities the country affords, and the prizes it holds out to enterprise and ability—is the motive power that sustains the schools. The popular system of education must, therefore, he argues, correspond with these ideas and reflect these phenomena. The system is democratic, equal, and free; but Mr. Fraser wisely points out that democratic institutions do not work with their full freedom and equality where an aristocracy, if not of nobility, yet of wealth, is being insensibly but surely formed. It is from this reason that the American schools, particularly in the larger cities and the higher grades, are practically in the possession of the middle class. The sons and daughters of the wealthiest are not in them; nor, with some exceptions, are the sons and daughters of the poorest. The system is found to work cheaply, in places where sordid views prevail, by reducing the time during which the school is kept open to the narrowest limit; by cutting down the salaries of the teachers to the lowest sum; by neglecting to furnish it with the needful supplies of apparatus and books. But in cities where none of this mistaken economy prevails it is still cheap: 25s. to 30s. per year per child in the lower grade; £6 to £10 per year in the high school. The economy results from the principle of "grading," and from the number of children of equal attainments in the same class who can be taught by the same teacher, as though they were but one. But in a graded school the class is as the unit to the teacher; and since he has no room for the discernment of individual capacity in any of the children under him, the system naturally loses in thoroughness and in personal fitness of application what it gains by its undoubted economy. The aggregate results of the system cannot, he considers, be better summed up than by saying that there exists in America a general diffusion of intelligence, rather than any high culture or profound erudition; and, comparing them with the general effect of the best education at home, he is disposed to believe that an American pupil probably leaves school with more special knowledge, but with less general development. This is a conclusion with which most of those most conversant with the systems of England, and best qualified to judge of their operation and effect, are, for the most part, in unison.

In 1867 a Parliamentary Commission was issued to inquire into the possibility of so extending the Factory Act as to bring within its scope the numerous young persons and children engaged in agricultural pursuits. In order to arrive at any reliable conclusion on this matter, it was obviously necessary to inquire with great thoroughness and exactness into the condition of the agricultural labourers. Mr. Fraser's services on the two educational commission already described, and the special knowledge he had acquired in the course of his experiences as a country clergyman, naturally marked him out for selection, and he was accordingly once more appointed as an Assistant Commissioner. The places pointed out for his investigation lay in the counties of Norfolk, Essex, Sussex, and Gloucester. With the exception of one or two trifling holidays he expended nearly half a year in prosecuting the very closest investigations into the question he had been deputed to examine. The chief of those holidays was taken during "harvesting," when both employers and labourers were too busy to afford time to answer speculative inquiries from anybody. In the enormous district he was appointed to cover it was, of course, impossible to examine into the condition of the agricultural labourer, his wife and children, in every village,

and the only plan feasible was clearly that of selection. On the principle of selection Mr. Fraser accordingly proceeded. He chose in each of the counties in which his investigation was to be conducted several poor-law union areas, and treated them as sample districts, and these he visited parish by parish. He appears to have let no conceivable opportunity of mastering the question slip by him. He put himself into communication, in the first instance, with Boards of Guardians, and not only with corporate bodies, but with their individual members. He attended their meetings, less with the purpose of watching proceedings than for that of familiarising himself with the surroundings of a fruitful source of information. He induced the parochial authorities to convene public meetings, and himself attended both as a speaker and a listener, encouraging all who had any knowledge or experience to speak freely. At these meetings the various points of interest embraced by the inquiry were fully discussed, and any person who had thought over the question, or who had any knowledge of it, was invited to express his opinion. Landed proprietors, clergy, farmers, farm labourers, medical men, officers of health, relieving officers, and all and sundry who could throw any light upon the matter, or were in any way fitted to help on the purposes of the inquiry, were consulted by the indefatigable Commissioner.

One of the most interesting results of the commission, so far as Mr. Fraser was concerned, lay in the revelations made with respect to the altered attitude employer and employed had gradually assumed to each other in recent years. "The old order changes" naturally and happily. Any attempt to restore the half-feudal relations which once existed between farmer and farm labourer would now, of course, result in failure. It may very reasonably be doubted whether the old Arcadian state of things whereof poets and romancists have so pleasantly written, was so beautiful and lovable in fact as it has been made to appear on paper. And even if it had been, its time had gone by. A new era had dawned, and a new principle of social economy had arisen. Perhaps, after all, a manly self-dependence is a better thing, and one more to be desired than the old semi-feudal system, with its benevolence on the one hand and its somewhat degrading reverence on the other, could furnish. But unhappily, in passing from the one stage to the other, employers and employed each found a far from pleasant space of transition. The mutual relations of kindly patronage and respectful gratitude were dissolved. The new relations were not yet formed, but lay as an embittered hope in the heart of the labourer, and as an angry fear in that of the farmer. Among other signs of this state of things indicated in Mr. Fraser's report, the reader may be referred to the paragraphs relating to harvest frolics and "largesse." In those paragraphs we learn to what extent the generous and amicable customs pertaining to the bringing-in of harvest have died out, and, with some sadness, discover that there exists a growing desire on the part of the farmer to substitute a money-payment for the kindly harvest-home gathering. For this there is a twofold reason. The farmer and his family have grown into a somewhat supercilious refinement, whilst the men have only so far reached to the sufliness of a wished-for independence. On this subject Mr. Fraser very feelingly writes, "These old English customs, however degraded, point to a time when the relation between masters and men was ennobled by a higher sentiment than the greed of gain; and in this nineteenth century anything that breaks down the distinctions of caste, and gives an opportunity for the effusion of good fellowship, is a link in our social system not lightly to be snapped in twain." But he discerns not merely a passive but an active mischief in the substitution of a money-gift for the old-fashioned festal gathering. In the course of the report, an anecdote related by a Norfolk clergyman is given, the moral of which lies in the fact that the "largesse" received by the labourer is spent for the most part in the grossest self-indulgence, and is productive of a great deal of evil.

Another question upon which Mr. Fraser speaks with much force and freedom is that of the game laws, and on this subject he writes thus broadly. "A system of things is growing up, which in its development seems in my humble judgment to be fraught with mischief to at least one important class of our countrymen who are affected by it. Game-preserving carried to this extent I regard as a simple evil, and I venture to raise the question whether noblemen and gentlemen are morally justified in buying their pleasure at this price. *Est modus in rebus; sunt certi denique fines.*"

An abuse with which he most wisely and temperately deals is the yearly hiring of servants. This hiring takes place on a certain day at an appointed place, and the occasion is celebrated as the statute fair or "mop." The verb "to mop" signifies in the vernacular Saxon to drink, or more accurately to become drunk, and the vernacular title is, as usual, the more forcible and the more accurately descriptive of the two. The gathering was at one time most probably a necessity. The statute fair was the veritable labour market, where labour was veritably bought and sold. But in this also as in other matters a change in the exigencies of time has taken place, and the fair, which always had its evil side, now exerts but little influence other than a widely demoralising one. Apart from its immoral surroundings, Mr. Fraser sees ample reason for condemning it. The term of hiring was in all these cases annual. The only argument in favour of the yearly term of service was that it gave a certain security to the employer which could not otherwise be obtained, but this view the Commissioner proves to be entirely illusory. He strongly recommends a monthly, instead of an annual term of service.

Of the general character of the English agricultural labourer he thinks well. He remarks that when people speak of the immorality of the peasantry in this country they refer to two vices only—viz., to drunkenness among the men, and to unchastity among the women. These at least are the prevailing vices. Much investigation has not led him to the belief that these especial vices are increasing, as has been proclaimed by some. The honesty of the people of the rural districts he pronounces surprising, and he speaks in high terms of their fine independence. One old and long-standing abuse he attacks most vigorously. We refer to the character and condition of the cottages of the poor, the cause, as Mr. Fraser puts it, of incalculable "physical, social, moral, economical, and intellectual evil." The investigations so thoroughly and patiently performed result in the following conclusions respecting female agricultural labour: "Not only does it unsex a woman in dress, gait, manners, character, making her rough, coarse, clumsy, masculine, but it generates a further very pregnant social mischief by unfitting her or indisposing her for the duties of home." But the conclusion at which he is compelled to arrive is that the question is not one to be reached by Parliament, and that the march of improvement may be retarded rather than accelerated by legislation. In the case of young children the result arrived at is different. He asks for a law which shall protect them by making it imperative that they should regularly attend school until the age of ten years, and which shall forbid them to be hired for labour before that age. His desire in that respect has since been met by the Education Act of Mr. Forster.

In a sermon preached in the May of 1853, Mr. Fraser, speaking strongly in favour of denominational teaching, said, "Religious education without a religious creed sounds in my ears like a contradiction in terms. I am sure it will prove a contradiction in practice." Another sentence in the same sermon is very strongly marked with the impress of his own individuality: "Religious divisions are better than religious indifference. Controversy is better than compromise, where the matter in dispute is vital and earnest."

In 1870, on the death of Dr. Prince Lee, Mr. Fraser was elevated to the control of the diocese of Manchester, receiving his appointment from Mr. Gladstone. He is the second bishop in succession, the see having been created in 1847. His appointment took place in the January of that year, and on the 23rd of February his university conferred upon him, by diploma, the degree of D.D. His consecration took place on the 25th of March of the same year, and he entered upon the episcopal duties with much vigour. Dr. Prince Lee, his predecessor, had been very heartily interested in the work of Church extension, and this work Dr. Fraser followed up with characteristic energy, consecrating no fewer than twenty-four churches in the first two and a half years of his episcopacy. He has himself remarked that a Bishop of Manchester cannot if he would, so long as he has health and strength, lead the life of a recluse. He is constantly brought into contact with large masses both of the clergy and the laity. Dr. Fraser has never aimed at retirement. He has been in the world, and in the best sense has been of it. In his primary charge to the clergy of his see, in the course of an allusion to the Nonconformist Conference of 1862, he expressed a warm hope that the Christian Church in England might yet be united, and expressed his belief in the willingness of a large body of the Wesleyans, if not all, to merge their differences and return to the Establishment. After remarking that he recognised the question of the difficulty of orders, he said, "But surely on Wesley's principles, and in the interests of Christian unity, on which so much that is precious hangs, this is a difficulty not impossible to be overcome." In the course of his charge he spoke in a strain of the sternest condemnation of the sale of next presentations to ecclesiastical benefices.

Since his accession to the bishopric, he has shown himself no less broad and catholic in sympathy, and not less earnest and energetic in labour than of old. When, in 1872, York Convocation was in session, he supported, greatly to the delight of many thousands of the laity and clergy, the motion of the Dean of Chester, "That it is desirable to discontinue the Athanasian Creed in the public worship of the Church of England."

It has been said of him by an able critic that he wears his heart too much upon his sleeve, and "makes occasional professions, innocent enough in themselves, that terribly scandalise strait-laced purists, lay and clerical, and painfully flutter the coteries of ladies, old and young, who think that a priest should be twice a saint." This is a matter which Dr. Fraser will probably regard without any great feeling of sorrow or contrition. He is not a man who puts forward any arrogant claims. His nature is strong, broad, vigorous, and healthy, and the sickly sentimentalisms with which some people choose to disfigure their version of the Christian faith have no charm for him. He has done, and is doing, a good work, and in nothing is that work more worthy than in the attempt to reconcile a strong and joyous life with the most devoted earnestness and the purest attachment to the truths of Christianity.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Mr. Enos Eastham, of Market Street, Manchester.]



Raffaello. Imbriani

THE RIGHT HON. SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, M.P.

IN the third year of the reign of King Henry I., Galfridus, Miles, a prosperous gentleman, holding lands in the hundreds of Witheridge and North Taunton, the manor of Burington, and elsewhere, had his seat at Northcote, in the parish of East Down, in the county of Devon. His son John, coming into possession after him, changed the name of *cit* Gaulfrid for that of the place wherein he dwelt, and was thenceforth styled John de Northcote. In a very short time he, in turn, ~~was~~ succeeded by *his* son, another Galfridus, from whom the line of Northcotes has descended, though the land went in Henry IV.'s time to John Loderell, by reason of his marrying Jane, a daughter of the Northcote then head of his house. But by marryings with other rich Devon families—and notably by an alliance in 1313, being the sixteenth year of the reign of King Edward III., between John de Northcote and Johanna Meoles, daughter and co-heir of Roger Meoles, by his wife Avis, sole heiress to Sir William le Prouse, Lord of Gidleigh Castle—the Northcotes gained great possessions. This family of Meoles, or Mueles, were ancient barons of Devonshire. John Lord Mueles married Margaret, sister of Hugh Courtenay, first Earl of Devon, by whom he had a son, Nicholas de Mueles, who was the king's seneschal in Gascony; and having there defeated the King of Navarre, was rewarded with extensive grants in Devon by Henry III. Of that prudent marriage—John de Northcote with Johanna Meoles, to wit—the issue ~~was~~ two sons, the elder of whom, John, married twice, his second wife being Susan, daughter of Sir Hugh Pollard, of King's Nympton. Their son and heir, John Northcote, Esquire, of Hayne, was created a baronet by Charles I. in 1641, served the office of Sheriff of Devon in that king's reign, and was Member of Parliament for the county in the twelfth year of the Restoration. The second baronet was Sir Arthur Northcote, who succeeded as eldest son of the foregoing Sir John, and who married twice, losing the sons born him by his first wife, but leaving male issue by the second marriage, which was with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Hon. Sir Francis Godolphin, and sister of the Godolphin who was Lord High Treasurer. Sir Francis Northcote, third baronet, married Anne, daughter of Sir Chichester Wray; but, dying without issue, he was succeeded by his brother Henry, who had adopted the profession of medicine, and was a member of the Royal College of Physicians. Sir Henry Northcote, M.D., married Penelope, daughter and co-heir of Robert Lovett, Esquire, of Liscombe, Bueles, and Corfe, Devon. Sir Henry was succeeded by his only son of the same name, who sat in Parliament for the city of Exeter. This Sir Henry, fifth baronet, married Bridget Maria, only daughter and heir of Hugh Stafford, Esquire, of Pynes, Devon, and had three sons, of whom the elder, named Stafford, succeeded in course of time to the title and estates. Sir Stafford married, in 1766, Catherine, daughter of the Reverend George Bradford, rector of Talaton. Stafford-Henry, the eldest son by that marriage, was seventh baronet, and, by his wife Jaquetta, daughter of Charles Baring,

Esquire, of Larkbeer, had one son, Henry-Stafford, who married a daughter of Thomas Cockburn, Esquire, of the East India Company's Service, and had sons and daughters born to him. He died in 1850, a year before his father, from whom, consequently, the title descended to the eldest grandson, Stafford-Henry, subject of this sketch.

We have taken thus much pains to follow the genealogy of the Right Hon. Sir Stafford-Henry Northcote, of Hayne, in the county of Devon, P.C., C.B., D.C.L., Member of Parliament for North Devon, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Disraeli's second Ministry; and we should esteem it no loss of labour to do the same in the case of any noteworthy person whose ancestry happens to be traceable. It is a very common fallacy, when a "new man" is criticised, to proceed on the assumption that, because nothing is known of his progenitors, he is as good as never having had any. The truth is, that not only *may* a poet of the people have come of a stock to which more than one "mute inglorious Milton" had belonged; not only *may* a strong champion of popular rights have had blood-guiltless Cromwells in the race from which he sprang; but it positively *must* have been so. The thorn and the thistle are not the bearers of the grape and the fig; and, arguing from the known to the unknown, we may safely say that, inasmuch as like has always been observed to breed like, where the sequence could be noted, so the same thing has occurred where the course was hidden. Qualities, moreover, may be dormant for two or three generations, but Nature will "hark back" to find them and awaken them to renewed activity. For generations past, the Northcotes have continually been producing men of the same thoroughly English stamp, men admirably qualified to hold the middle position between squire and statesman, or rather to hold both positions at once, and to extend their political influence and their social sympathies afar, while maintaining a deep root in their county. We see that this Eighth Baronet is of much the same metal as the First, and indeed as many another Northcote preceding. We see that the family, well founded, was strongly built up with materials wisely chosen, though lying near at hand. The Northcotes drew to themselves other families, most if not all Devon; absorbed some of them, so that the very name of Hillion, for instance, of highest antiquity in Devon, is lost in the Northcote lineage. Pynes, the seat of the present baronet, came into the family with the first Stafford, an heiress, who married Sir Henry, the Member for Exeter in George II.'s reign. Heiresses, by the bye, have thought it no bad thing to mate with the Northcotes. Stafford-Henry and Henry-Stafford have been the alternate names of the Northcote heirs since that union just remarked.

Sir Stafford-Henry Northcote, whose portrait accompanies this biography, was born on the 27th October, 1818, in London. His father, Henry-Stafford Northcote, died, as we have seen, a twelvemonth before the time when he would have inherited the family honours and estates. Thus the baronetcy passed over one generation, and descended on a grandson, who, though he would, in ordinary course of nature, have succeeded to the title and possessions, might have expected, even at the age of thirty-two, a longer respite from such onerous dignity. Devoting himself to studious preparation for the work of life, Mr. Stafford Northcote distinguished himself at Oxford, whither he proceeded from Eton, graduated first class in classics and third class in mathematics, at Balliol College, and went to the Bar in 1847 with all the prestige of family influence, solid intellectual gifts, and an erudition not the less serviceable for its very decided leaning to the *belles lettres*, and to subjects bearing on art and taste. He had studied finance in a high school when, between 1843 and 1845, he was private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, the latter being then President of the Board of Trade; and no doubt the knowledge so gained was

of service to him six years later, when he was a secretary of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the year of his succession to the family title. For the valuable services rendered by him in an arduous office, he was made C.B. This distinction fittingly rewarded labours of a more than perfunctory character—labours in the very midst of which Sir Stafford's hereditary honours had found him. Without doubt, Sir Stafford Northcote's zeal in the cause of art and education prompted him to exert in the largest spirit of patriotism those practised powers of financial control to which even then he had attained. In 1855 he entered Parliament in the Conservative interest for the borough of Dudley. Two years later he was unsuccessful as a candidate for the representation of North Devon; but in July of the year following he was elected Member for Stamford, and continued one of the members for that borough from 1858 till 1866, when he again essayed to win the voices of the North Devon constituency, and this time prevailed. An indefatigable working member, Sir Stafford Northcote had not limited his labours wholly by attendance to the duties of the House of Commons. From January to June in 1859 he was Financial Secretary to the Treasury of Lord Derby; and, in his lordship's third Administration, 1866, was appointed President of the Board of Trade. His book, "Twenty Years of Financial Policy," published in 1862, had materially aided his reputation as an authority on matters of finance. That reputation has since steadily advanced, till it required little shrewdness to predict for Sir Stafford Northcote the highest position such cultivated talents as his could win. Nevertheless, it was no inconsiderable shot on the part of an acute political writer, Mr. T. Wemyss Reid, to mark down Sir Stafford Northcote as the next Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, rather than Mr. Ward Hunt.

During a period of extreme anxiety Sir Stafford Northcote held the important post of Secretary for India. This was from March, 1867, till December, 1868, a great part of the time being occupied by the Abyssinian campaign, which, though almost bloodless on the side of the victors, seemed one of the most hazardous of "little wars." To Sir Stafford Northcote, more than to any man, save Sir Robert Napier, belonged the honour of that successful expedition. Costly it was, no doubt; and the inevitable inquiry disclosed some few blunders and a good many of those overcharges which are an unpatriotic but strictly economic consequence of any sudden demand for coals, stores, arms, ammunition, and other warlike materials. Still, nobody questioned but that Sir Stafford Northcote, if any man, emerged spotless from that searching investigation which he himself had called for, in seconding the motion of Mr. Candlish for an Abyssinian Committee. And the exposure, pleasing to a certain class of prurient politicians, of failures and faults here and there, was totally obscured in the triumph of that brief struggle which released the Abyssinian captives—about whom, in particular, nobody cared very much—put a tragical end to the burlesque tyrant Theodore, nothing in whose life became him like the leaving it, and finally gave our troops liberty to return without loss, and, on the whole, considerably improved in health and condition by their march to Magdala. Of course, as the evidence given to the committee proved, there had been shocking waste of money, all which might have been spared if the animals and provisions which were got from one place had been got from another; but the main and material facts were these, after all: our men had marched through a mountainous territory, concerning which the geographical knowledge of the time was rather at fault; the difficulties and dangers which were to have beset our troops had melted away like snow in that African April; the heights of Islamgié were stormed and taken; Magdala was taken almost as soon as it was stormed; King Theodore had shot himself in preference to surrendering; and, in short, no fairy tale could have concluded with a more gratifying dispensation of poetical

justice. Even that episodic story of the oxen, sent as a gift by the temporising and crafty savage to Sir Robert Napier, yielded a sadly dull and abortive scandal, which, when made the very most of by a jealous little clique, left but a transient speck on the brightness of those honours which were justly awarded the conqueror. But even if some of the dirt cast upon the new coronet of Lord Napier of Magdala had verified an old proverb by sticking there, the misfortune would scarcely have affected Sir Stafford Northcote. It would indeed have vexed and pained him, but only by touching his sympathy and his generous regard for the character of an ally.

As a legislator, Sir Stafford Northcote has never leaned to "over-governing." It has been his axiom that in Parliamentary Government we have an engine of the highest capabilities, which may be turned to good or bad account, according as we understand or do not understand the mode of using it. The great English problem, he considers, is how to make the best use of that engine; and, while deprecating the proneness of people in the present day to turn to Government and the Legislature in matters which they ought to settle for themselves, he candidly admits that, in some respects, the intervention of the Government is much more necessary now than it used to be in former times, and that social questions are assuming such large dimensions, that they cannot be adequately dealt with, except by the employment of the central administrative machinery. This topic was handled with great skill by Sir Stafford Northcote when, as President of the Social Science Congress in 1869, he delivered his inaugural address in the Victoria Rooms, Bristol. In that same speech he also stated his views in regard to several imperial subjects, taking care, as is usual with him—often to an extent which has laid him open to a charge of want of definiteness—to present both sides of every question. The relations between England and her colonies were discussed at that congress, over which Sir Stafford presided; and in anticipation of this point in the programme, he said: "There is no part of the national duty upon which men seem to be so little clear as upon this. One school among us, animated by much the same narrow spirit as that which dictated the old colonial restrictive system, considers that, in the interests of the mother country, we ought now to cast off our colonies as useless, costly, and embarrassing to keep. Another school considers that, although the colonies ought not to be retained against their will, and ought, if they desire to remain connected with us, to contribute a fair share of the expense of their own defences, it is yet for the general advantage of the whole empire that it should remain entire; and that, so far as we are concerned, we ought to use our utmost endeavours to place and maintain our colonial relations upon a reasonable and stable footing. It is in this latter spirit that we have now to approach the subject. For my own part, I must frankly say that I could not have taken the chair as your president except upon the clear understanding that the object of the council, in inviting this discussion, was not to loosen but to strengthen the bond which unites the different portions of the empire, by considering in what manner the various difficulties which exist in the relations between the mother country and her colonies may be surmounted, and how the connection may be made to bear the best fruits for us all." Sir Stafford proceeded to show that the colonies possess by inheritance, and by virtue of their connection with us, many advantages which it would be impossible to create afresh, and of which, therefore, we ought to be very slow to deprive them, either by cutting them adrift or by driving them, through mismanagement and neglect, to the conclusion that they would do well to detach themselves from us. If it were only that their allegiance to the British Crown preserves them from the evils of disputed successions, and furnishes them with a national arbiter, to whose decisions they can bow upon questions which might otherwise lead to endless bickerings, these are advantages that should not be lightly thrown away.

Sir Stafford Northcote's opinions as to charitable endowments, and the limit which ought to be set on them by the law, were on the same occasion expressed, and with the same habitual deference to opposite views. As the whole question closely affects the practical problem raised by the Endowed Schools Act, it would be well to get as near as possible to the actual state of Sir Stafford's mind—which must long ago have been made up—on this subject. But we must be content with hearing the case lucidly and judiciously summed up by him, drawing our own conclusion as to the side on which the scale of his judgment inclines. For it must be evident to all who have paid the least attention to the conciliatory eloquence of Sir Stafford Northcote that he sees much virtue in an "On the other hand." Assuming the concurrence of most persons in his belief that there are material advantages in the permanence which an endowment gives to an institution, and that in the majority of cases—though certainly not in all—the institution gains more by being endowed than it can be supposed to lose in the way of voluntary subscriptions, which would gravitate towards it from a sentimental recognition of the fact that it is *not* endowed, Sir Stafford Northcote yet allows that a richly endowed institution, saddled with conditions which deprive it of general confidence and approbation, may not only be itself injured by the endowment, but may become a cause of public inconvenience by hindering voluntary action in the same field. Therefore it is held by Sir Stafford Northcote, as an undeniable proposition, that the State would act unwisely by discouraging private endowments. All he contends is, that provision should be made against their being so used as to thwart and impede public policy; and he partially adopts the suggestions of Earl Fortescue that there should be a recognised public authority to which all proposed endowments should be referred for acceptance; and that this authority should have power to cancel the endowment if its acceptance should appear likely to be inconvenient to the public interests. In any case of disallowance in the lifetime of the intending founder, he would simply retain the absolute command of his property. In the case of disallowance of the terms of a will, the property would follow the testator's disposition of the remainder of his estate. If the public declined to accept it on his terms, they would have no right to claim it on any other. Secondly, when an endowment had once been accepted, the terms should be strictly observed for a limited, but adequate, time after its creation, subject only to the supreme right of Parliament to interfere in cases of great necessity, and to a general power on the part of the trustees to obtain authority to modify it from time to time, but always in strict conformity with the spirit of the foundation. Thirdly, after the lapse of a fixed period, say a century, from the time of the foundation, some public authority should be charged with the duty of reporting fully on the working of the endowment, and of recommending any revision which might appear to be desirable. This was the Liberal-Conservative proposition of Sir Stafford Northcote, in 1869, which seemed to him at all events "to present a fair basis for discussion." His views concerning education are tolerably well known. He thinks that we have unnecessarily contrived to make it one of the greatest difficulties of the day; and in this matter, as in every other of public importance, he counsels mutual concession. Indeed a great portion of Sir Stafford Northcote's life seems to have been spent in persuading people that, without abatement of honour, and without sacrifice of principle, they may yield somewhat of their pet opinions for the common good. Thus he thinks that if religious men and religious communities are instigated by religious motives to throw themselves into the work of education as into a labour of love, it may be well worth the while of the State, as a mere matter of temporal policy, to encourage and to supplement their efforts, for the sake of obtaining at a moderate cost the advantage of a machinery which it would have difficulty in creating for itself. In such case, Sir Stafford

Northcote considers, it would be quite reasonable that the State should append to its offer of assistance conditions framed with a view to secure its proper application and generally to promote the efficiency of the system: "and the voluntary bodies to whom the aid is offered must be prepared, if they choose to accept it, to accept the conditions with it." Sir Stafford Northcote avows his reluctance to abandon the basis of combined governmental and voluntary action, "so very unintelligible to some minds, but so very dear to the nation." He is disposed to counsel the supporters of the voluntary principle, in relation to social questions, to make greater efforts than they have yet done, and to go to the utmost points of concession to which they can fairly advance, rather than allow themselves to be superseded and driven from the field by direct Government agency. But, then, he would also urge the Government to refrain from taking upon itself the exclusive responsibility for any class of work which it can get fairly well done by well-regulated and well-aided voluntary agency.

Agricultural labourers have had less effective though more vehement advocates than Sir Stafford Northcote, who has a way of suggesting what he thinks right rather than of insisting on it. Unfortunately, the mass of people is rather prone to undervalue suggestions—does not see that there is any strength in them, but believes, on the contrary, that positive, persistent, unyielding affirmation can alone have argumentative force. The mistake is a very grave one, and it has served the purposes of false prophets in all ages, to the grievous injury of the multitude who fell into it. "I believe," said Sir Stafford Northcote, on one occasion, speaking of farmers and of English husbandry, "that the system which prevails in this country is a good one; that the triple bond between landlord, farmer, and labourer is a bond not easily broken, and is one that has a great deal to do with the social prosperity of the country. At the same time we must none of us be too proud to take advice from those who criticise us. You will always observe that individuals, or classes of persons, who are doing well and performing good service, and who are tolerably prosperous, encounter plenty of criticism; and no country has so many critics as England. The farmers are not exempt; we hear all sorts of complaints made against them by persons who do not understand the subject." While wishing, however, that a good many political economists and professors would be more humble in this respect, he admitted that such theorists often tell important truths. One such truth he very earnestly pressed upon his hearers—they were principally farmers assembled at a harvest festival in Devonshire—and exhorted them in such terms as these: "Try what you can do to encourage and not to repress the endeavours of those among your labourers, and especially the young men, who show any desire for independence—any willingness to help themselves. You will find that men who wish and strive to advance their social position are worthy of all encouragement, and it is for your interest that they should be encouraged. Give them what advice you can, help them when you can to make savings from their wages, and invest it properly, and thus aid them in raising themselves in the scale of humanity. They will find the benefit of it; *you* will find the benefit of it, and will live all the pleasanter lives for placing yourselves on good terms with those who serve you and work around you." At another time, speaking on the same subject to a different audience, Sir Stafford Northcote said, "If the labourer be trained in his youth to recognise the duty of laying by a provision for his old age; if he be early taught prudence, and foresight, and self-denial; and if at the same time the means are provided him of investing his savings with perfect security, which he has now some difficulty in doing, a great step would be taken in advance; and if his employers be brought to see the wisdom of so regulating his wages as to enable him by additional labour to earn

additional remuneration, and so encourage him to increased industry, the heavy weight of pauperism which now oppresses the energies of our people might to a very great extent be shaken off. The means for commencing this are not far to seek. The Government may develop the beneficent system of the Post-office Savings Bank, for which we are so largely indebted to the present Prime Minister, and may protect the labourer from that great evil which is the cause of such frequent sufferings to him--the loss of his savings in ill-managed or fraudulent sick clubs. The employer may make more use than he now commonly does of the great engine of piece-work; and the landlord may co-operate with him by the improvement of his cottages, and by the extension of the garden allotment system."

The Prime Minister of whom mention is made in the foregoing remarks was Mr. Gladstone, between whom and Sir Stafford Northcote, despite their very wide political difference, there has always been a strong bond of personal friendship. This has been observable on many occasions; and, anticipating the course of events in this biography, we may here advert, not inaptly, to the circumstances in which Sir Stafford Northcote brought forward his Budget, soon after the accession of his party to office, and his own acceptance of the onerous post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. It may have struck many people who view the progress of political affairs with some sympathy for the human wants, aspirations, virtues, failings, and personal likes and dislikes which underlie the whole business of governing and law-making, that there is a certain atmosphere even round the world of figures and finance which may be breathed with pleasurable sensations. As in a palimpsest men have read between the lines of some stern dogmatic dissertation the warm utterances of the heart, so we may see natural evidences of feeling, signs of character, and manifestations of old friendship in the pages of Hansard about that time of Sir Stafford's entry upon his new office. In the first place, the actual choice of Sir Stafford Northcote for the position of Finance Minister might well seem to accord with Mr. Disraeli's artistic sense of contrast. We have had a clever Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might have thought, in Mr. Lowe, but one so wedded to his whims and so little disposed to temper the *fortiter in re* with the *suaviter in modo* that even his own party were continually bickering with him. The force of dissimilarity could not be better shown than in the selection, to follow the pugnacious colonist, of the courteous country gentleman, full of unaffected amenity, and rather fond than otherwise of looking all round a question and of taking counsel from his opponents. It would be flattery to say that Sir Stafford Northcote has half the brilliancy of Mr. Robert Lowe; but, having the faculty of deference, which Mr. Lowe has not, it ensues that he is often deferred to, which Mr. Lowe very seldom is. Any conceivable Budget that Mr. Gladstone would have submitted to the House of Commons, if he had still continued in dual office as Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, must have been severely criticised by the Conservatives; and it was only reasonable to suppose that his less-trying successor and political foe would receive at least as hard judgment from the Liberals, just thrown out of power. But, no: Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget was very mildly handled by the critics of the Opposition; and by Mr. Gladstone himself it was generously spared. This forbearance did not pass unobserved. It was ascribed, truly enough no doubt, to the feeling of an old master in regard to his accomplished and successful pupil; to the sentiment of old companionship, the memory of young promise; to the just pride, hallowed by social tenderness, with which Rubens, grey and timeworn, might have watched the victory of Vandyke. It may be Sir Stafford Northcote's destiny to resume his control of Indian affairs, in which he has shown a knowledge creditable to his industry, and a skill indicative

as much of his firmness as of his discretion; for there would be great injustice in the supposition that Sir Stafford Northcote, because he is conciliatory, cannot be firm. In 1871 he was chosen by Mr. Gladstone to accompany Lord de Grey to Washington to arrange the Alabama Treaty. The appointment of Sir Stafford Northcote as Special Commissioner in this delicate and important business was received with equal favour on both sides of the House. Impartial judgment in the Premier was honoured, of course; but the ready assent of all parties was yet more significant of the esteem in which the object of that judgment is universally held.

The union of Sir (then Mr.) Stafford Northcote with Cecilia Frances, daughter of Mr. Thomas Farrer, of Lincoln's Inn, took place in 1843, at the period of his secretaryship under Mr. Gladstone at the Board of Trade. Sir Stafford Northcote's marriage has been productive of seven sons and three daughters, most of whom are living. He is a Deputy Lieutenant of his county, and a Justice of the Peace; and he is patron of four livings, all in Devonshire. As we have seen, he is not only nominally but in spirit a Liberal-Conservative, moderate in his views, never bitter towards those who differ from him, and, though eminently distinguished by a conciliatory frankness, always certain as to the point at which he wishes to arrive. Perhaps the only distinct political pledge he has ever given is that he "will resist all attempts to infringe on the rights of the Church of England." It has been said that Sir Stafford Northcote is not a deep thinker; but it has *not* been said that he is a shallow one; and we may forgive a man of genial temper, wide sympathies, high culture, and large administrative ability for not being a transcendental philosopher. As to his talking truisms, that is a charge commonly brought against all public men who are not in the habit of talking nonsense. In fine, Sir Stafford Northcote is a popular man on grounds happily removed from those on which a kind of popularity rather more frequent, rather more facile, but not so honest, is built. Loyal to his party, he acknowledges a higher loyalty, and pays it, to his country and to mankind.

[The Portrait which is prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph taken by the London Stereoscopic Company.]



John Wallis



John Walter

JOHN WALTER, ESQ., M.P.

MR. JOHN WALTER, the subject of our present memoir, was born in London in the year 1818. He is the eldest son of the late Mr. John Walter by his second wife, daughter of Mr. H. Smithe, of Eastling, Kent. Wherever the *Times* newspaper is known it is identified with the name of Walter; for it was under the late Mr. Walter that journal attained a pre-eminence never before reached by it or any of its contemporaries of this or any other country. The position of the younger Mr. John Walter when, in the year 1847, on the death of his father, he found himself at the head of the great establishment in Printing House Square, would have been a trying one for any young man of nine-and-twenty years of age. He was the successor of a man of great administrative ability, and he was to preside over the destinies of the most powerful of the organs of public opinion. Before sitting in Parliament for Berkshire, the late Mr. Walter had been for a considerable time member for Nottingham, and had done much for the Liberal interest in that borough; but Nottingham proved for a time ungrateful. In 1843, Mr. John Walter the younger offered himself as a candidate for its representation, and was then unsuccessful. It repented of this treatment, and in 1847, elected him spontaneously and free of expense. For the twelve years—from 1847 to 1859—the present Mr. Walter sat for Nottingham, and during a portion of that time in what to him must have been the queerest of company, when he and the late Mr. Feargus O'Connor were the members for Nottingham, no constituency in the kingdom could have had a more antithetical representation. It was only natural that a man of such thoroughly squire-like habits as Mr. Walter on his own estate, and one holding such moderate views on party questions, should have given up the representation of Nottingham in favour of that of Berkshire. He is a Liberal, and as a rule has voted steadily with his party; but in the House of Commons he never has been regarded as a “party man.” His tone on political subjects has always been that of a moderator between the extreme men of the two great parties in the State. Hence, the Conservatives have never shown any hostility to him, either in the House or in his own county. This may be asserted unhesitatingly, although he was defeated in Berkshire at the general election of 1865, and as a consequence was out of the House of Commons during one entire Parliament. At the general election of 1868, Mr. Walter regained his seat and at the last general election he was returned without opposition.

We have said that Mr. Walter has never been regarded by the House of Commons as “a party man.” Perhaps he feels it a necessity of his position, in connection with the *Times*, that he should not be one. He would scarcely take political office, even if he had ambition in that direction; but it is more probable that his tastes do not incline him to it. In his public career he has applied himself mainly to social questions; and to the development and solution of these he has brought to bear thorough and consistent practice, as well as sound theory. Almost

invariably it has been found that the suggestions he has thrown out in public on such questions have been the result of his own practical experience. For instance, in the subject of education he takes an active interest; and from the period at which he entered Parliament down to the present time, he has contributed to the Legislature much valuable information on the subject of primary schools for the children of the people. Some of his best speeches on this topic were delivered during the debates on Mr. Lowe's revised code. He is regarded as an authority on the Education question; and that he should be may readily be understood by reference to certain of his speeches, and from the fact that on his own estate in Berkshire he has built no fewer than five schools, which are attended by 700 scholars, besides being a chief contributor to a sixth. In November of last year (1874) Mr. Walter delivered the inaugural address at the first annual meeting of the Quebec Institute in Lower Seymour Street, Portman Square. In the words spoken by him on that occasion one may read the character of the man himself, and obtain a very clear insight into his views on education. With too many of the advocates of knowledge it is a custom to appeal very strongly to the worldly ambition of youths, and hold out to them that by only sticking to their books they may arrive at anything. Such is not Mr. Walter's method of treating the subject. In this address he told his hearers an anecdote of a "navvy" who attended a night school to learn reading and ciphering in the belief that it would enable him to become a great railway contractor. He then proceeded: "Let no one regard it—as the navvy did the night school—as a kind of educational lottery, in which prizes might be won out of all proportion to the toil bestowed on them. No such idea could possibly be sanctioned by the friends of this Institute, nor, if entertained by its members, could it lead to anything but disappointment and disgust. The affairs of the world, the business of life, all that vast and complicated system of trade and industry upon which modern civilisation depends, and the uninterrupted flow of which is as necessary to the health of society as the circulation of the blood is to that of the human body, will continue to go on in their appointed order, and remain subject to the laws imposed upon them by the Supreme Governor of the world. Much as has been already done, and much as will, no doubt, be done hereafter, to lighten the toil of manual labour, to simplify the processes of manufacture, and to reduce the powers of nature to obedience to the will of man, there will still remain the same need as heretofore for those various departments of labour, in some one or other of which every man is allotted his place, and in which, when once placed, the vast majority are destined to abide. I am far from denying, of course, that there are exceptions to this rule. The attribute of genius, however that quality be defined, is one which belongs to no rank or condition of life; and there is no trade so humble, no condition in early life so unpromising, as not to furnish examples of men who have risen from the ranks, and either created new branches of industry, or raised themselves to the highest position in Church or State. But in reading the lives of such men—and you will find plenty of them recorded in such books as Mr. Smiles' 'Self Help'—you must be careful not to mistake the lesson they are intended to teach. They point a moral quite as much as they adorn a tale. They exhibit, indeed, a catalogue of marvellous achievements won by a combination of extraordinary qualities and rare opportunities; but withal they show plainly enough that such achievements are not within the reach of ordinary men." Having alluded to the special attractions which the Institute presented to those who entered its doors, he warned his young hearers against attempting to learn too many things, but recommended them to study the modern languages, not only for the sake of those languages, but also as a means of improving their knowledge of their

mother tongue. In English literature he would have them commence with Shakespeare. Pope was the other English poet he brought under their notice; and, as an author of kindred genius in prose, he advised them to study Bacon. What was his conclusion? We give it in his own words:—"What is the practical lesson which this address, feeble as it has been, is intended to inculcate? It is that of thoroughness in work—the chief end of all education, whether displayed in the exercise of the mental faculties, or in the humbler sphere of mechanical labour. 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.' That is the golden precept which ought to be engraven on the heart of every man, whatever his condition in life, and whatever the work which he is called upon to do. Nelson's last signal—'England expects every man to do his duty'—which thrilled the hearts of the British fleet before the victory of Trafalgar, does but express the idea which is the mainspring of all true greatness, whether national or private—that of thoroughness in work. But suppose, instead of that famous signal, with which the name of Nelson will ever be associated, another kind of signal had been presented to the eyes of our astonished seamen. Suppose some vile enchanter, such as we read of in fairy tales, could have transformed those magic words into some such as these:—

'He that fights and runs away
May live to fight another day;
But he that is in battle slain
Will never live to fight again.'

And, what is worse, suppose our sailors had acted upon it! You smile at the idea as extravagant and incredible; but let me tell you that the base and cowardly adage which I have just quoted is the very counterpart of another, which is the gospel of bad workmen in every part of the world, and which is not unknown even in English workshops—I mean the adage that 'Good work is bad for trade.' I have lately been reading a report furnished to the Government by our foreign Consuls, on the character and condition of the working classes, as they are called, in almost every part of the civilised world. It is most interesting and instructive, and well worthy of the attention of any artisan who wants to know the state of industry in foreign countries, and to compare it with that of his own. As the general result of the inquiry, it may be said that there is not much to tempt the British artisan to change his position at home for that of the workman in any country not under British rule, or blessed with institutions of a kindred character. But there is one remark, in particular, that occurs with lamentable frequency throughout the report, that, with few exceptions, the foreign workman does not appear 'to take pride in his work,' nor (to use a significant expression) to 'put his character into it.' A remarkable instance of this is mentioned of a country which generally constitutes an honourable exception to this unhappy rule. Switzerland, as you all know, is a country famous for its education and its watches; yet the following passage from the report will show that neither knowledge nor ~~skill~~ will suffice without the exercise of that higher quality on which I have been dwelling. 'As a rule,' it says, 'Swiss workmen are competent in their several trades, and take an interest in their work; for, thanks to their superior education, they fully appreciate the pecuniary advantages to their masters, and indirectly to themselves, by adhering strictly to their course. A striking instance of the policy of acting otherwise has lately happened at St. Imier, in the Bernese Jura, and produced a deep impression. In this district, for some years past, a great falling off in the quality of the watches manufactured has taken place, owing to the inhabitants finding it much more profitable

to increase the production at the cost of the workmanship than to abide by the old rules of the trade. They prospered beyond all expectation for a considerable time, but finally their watches got such a bad name that they became unsaleable, and the result is a general bankruptcy of nearly all the watch manufacturers of this particular district.’”

But improvement by means of education is not the only social one to which Mr. Walter devotes attention. He is not much of a sportsman: he cares but little for hunting or shooting; but in all other respects he is in his tastes as much the country squire when he quits London and gets back to Bearwood as if he were in no way engaged in the pursuits of a man of business. Landscape gardening is one of his delights, and, excepting some of the great contractors, few men have built so much. He has carried out vast improvements on his estate, and most of these have had for their object the comfort and well-being of his tenants and labourers. His latest achievement in the building line, out of London, is the magnificent mansion of Bearwood, which he is said to have constructed without the intervention of a contractor. Like his father, Mr. Walter has ever shown himself opposed to combinations of the working classes, when such combinations involve interference with freedom of individual action; but free association for provident objects he encourages and aids, both among the workmen employed at the *Times* office, and among agricultural labourers. He is the patron of four livings. No speech delivered in the House of Commons on the Public Worship Bill of 1874 attracted so much attention as his. It was referred to by the Prime Minister as a most valuable contribution to the arguments for legislation against Ritualism. Mr. Gladstone in the boldest terms had challenged any one and every one to define what Ritualism meant. He advocated his own series of resolutions against the Bill by the argument that the measure was a “much ado about nothing,” and endeavoured to turn the tables against the opponents of Ritualism by thus attacking them on a charge of mischievous officiousness. The member for Berkshire took up the gauntlet and entered the lists with the ex-Premier; and in the adjourned debate on Wednesday, the 15th of July, delivered that speech which Mr. Disraeli described as “a most able speech supported by ample evidence of a most instructive kind.” Before proceeding to describe what Ritualism is, Mr. Walter made direct reference to the challenge by saying that his right honourable friend the member for Greenwich almost professed to wonder what all this hubbub could be about, for he did not understand what Ritualism meant, and he alleged that the word had changed its meaning every two years during the forty years he had been acquainted with the subject. Mr. Walter having quoted from “The Four Cardinal Virtues” written by the Rev. Orby Shipley, whom he introduced to the House as “one of the authorised exponents” of the Ritualistic system, and from Mr. Blenkinsopp’s essay entitled “The Church and the World,” to show what Ritualism is as represented by its own champions, continued his address to the House in these terms:—“Let the House connect all these things with that which is at the bottom, and which it is the object of these men to implant in the minds of rising Churchmen—namely, the whole doctrine of sacerdotalism. That theory includes everything in the nature of priestly power and its consequences, from which the Reformation set us free. We hear nothing now but the word ‘priest;’ we never hear of the ‘communion table,’ but always of the ‘high altar.’ Now I should like to tell the House how a great theologian, whose authority my right honourable friend will be the first to acknowledge—I mean Richard Hooker, the author of the immortal work on ‘Ecclesiastical Polity’—speaks of ‘presbyter’ and ‘priest.’ Hooker, a name of the highest authority in the English Church, says he prefers the word ‘presbyter,’ which he considers to mean ‘spiritual father,’ because he regards it as being more in keeping

with the whole tenor and substance of the Gospel than the word 'priest,' and he literally apologises to the Puritans for using the word 'priest,' because the doctrine of sacrifice, which the word 'priest' is supposed to convey, is no more conveyed to the mind of the Church of England by the word than the idea of an old man by the word 'senator' or 'alderman.' That is the expression of one of the greatest minds in the English Church, a mind as pre-eminent in theology as Bacon's in philosophy or Burke's in politics. Now, I would ask whether the Archbishop of Canterbury is not entitled to reply to the right honourable gentleman who objects to this Bill, 'What have I now done? is there not a cause?' Most assuredly there is, and we all know it. The number of honourable members here to-day and the suspension of the standing orders prove that there is a cause. There are in this land churches in which the utmost pains have been taken to indoctrinate our youth, who know nothing of theology, not with the principles of the Reformation which they are taught to hate, but with the principles of mediæval theology, which is nothing more or less than the whole doctrine of the Church of Rome. All of us must have known instances in which, after a course of such teaching, young women, and sometimes young men, have had their minds so influenced that they have suddenly disappeared and gone away perhaps to Boulogne, where they have been received in the arms of a Roman Catholic priest, who no doubt smiled in utter scorn at the folly of a Church which could permit its places of worship to be used as mere nurseries for his own. My belief is that the principles of the Reformation are as dear to the people of this country now as they were at any former period of our history; and that these things are put up with simply because, to a great extent, they have been confined to our towns, where there is a choice of churches. No doubt, the principle of Congregationalism does exist in London, but in London the state of things is precisely what it would be if the Church were disestablished to-morrow. Everybody goes to his own church, and if the Church of England were disestablished nobody could have a right to complain. But while I condemn those doctrines, and desire to see the persons who teach them expelled, if necessary, from the English Church, I do not wish to say one word disrespectful to my Roman Catholic friends. I will go further, and say I have known among my Roman Catholic friends, some of whom are among the oldest friends I have, instances of greater delicacy in abstaining from putting devotional books of their own into the hands of young Protestants than would be practised by that party in the Church of England who hold Ritualistic views. Believing, as I do, those views to be inconsistent with the principles of the Reformation, and that the people of this country would infinitely prefer to see the Church disestablished than those doctrines authorised and sanctioned, I shall give most hearty support to the Bill in every stage of its progress, and I most earnestly trust that it may be carried into law."

By his brother legislators Mr. Walter is generally regarded as a man of judicial mind. He is by no means a great talker. On the contrary, he conveys to his audience the impression that he is a retiring man, and even his exhaustive conclusions are spoken rather in the tone of suggestion, than in that of dogmatic utterance; but he has been placed on some of the most important committees appointed by the Committee of Selection, and for some years has been on the panel from which chairmen of select committees are taken. When Mr. Disraeli passed his Reform Bill, he appointed Mr. Walter a member of the commission for fixing the new boundaries of Parliamentary boroughs.

We started by adverting to the difficult position in which, when yet but a young man, Mr. Walter must have felt himself placed on succeeding to his father in Printing House Square.

The secrets of that region have been so well guarded by the distinguished men who have been in power there, that we are inclined to treat as unreliable gossip nine-tenths of what one hears as to the *Times* and all that concerns it. That the paper itself has considerably more than doubled in size since 1847, there is, however, no doubt; and there is quite as little doubt that within the same period its progress in all other respects has been at least fourfold. These are results on which the subject of our memoir may well pride himself. With a modesty which perhaps few men would be found possessed of under similar circumstances, he has never brought himself before the public in connection with the *Times*; but we believe it would be a great mistake to suppose that he is a merely nominal head. From the earliest period of his proprietorship his active influence and control have been felt throughout the whole establishment; but this has been without embarrassing interference with chiefs, members of the literary staff, or *employés* in the printing-office. His policy appears to be to make the best selection for the various posts, and then to allow those who fill them considerable limits within the sphere of their functions. So marked and unexampled was the advance of the *Times* over all other competitors in this country that a few years ago it seemed as if the whole field of daily newspaper literature was going to be surrendered to it; but, strange to say, about that very time, experiments were being made in the *Times* office itself, which resulted in rendering the production of a cheap newspaper press for the masses of the people practical as a paying undertaking. Up to the period to which we are referring, all newspapers were printed from "formes" of composed type. There was no means of multiplying the number of "formes" except by setting up new ones, a process which the time it would have occupied, not to speak of its expense, rendered impossible in actual practice. In the *Times* office the stereotyping of "formes," or pages of type, by a rapid and very cheap process, was developed with such complete success that it became easy to multiply fac-similes of each page so as, even with printing-machines much less perfect than those in use now, to produce any number of copies of a paper within a very short time. You could make up for the short-comings of your printing-machines by increasing their number, and working off from stereotype fac-similes of the "formes" of type. The *Times* itself would scarcely claim credit for having the interests of the penny papers in view when it was bringing about this change; but the improvement really was a greater revolution in newspaper printing than that effected by the late Mr. Walter, when he first introduced steam as a motive power in printing-presses, and its effects have been of the last importance to the cheap press. Another enormous impulse to the production within a few hours of any number of papers for which a demand may exist, was given by experiments in the *Times* office, which resulted in the use of a continuous roll of paper in the printing of newspapers, instead of single sheets of the size of the particular newspaper. It is with such a roll the "Walter Press" is fed. This printing machine itself was invented and constructed on the *Times* premises. It was perfected in 1864, and it proved even a greater triumph than was anticipated. Of course it is patented; but there is a manufactory of Walter presses in Printing House Square, and large numbers of them have been supplied to newspaper proprietors in this country, in Germany, and even in America.

Most people are aware that various inventions for "composing," or setting up type by a machine, have from time to time been brought under the notice of the heads of printing-offices. The idea is by no means novel; but never, until taken up in the *Times* office, had it been reduced to success, mechanically and financially. And the story of its development there is a curious one. Among the Germans driven out of France by the insane fury of the French.

people during the Franco-German war, was a poor fellow named Kastenbein, the inventor of a composing-machine, which, as originally constructed, was adapted only to French type. Experiments having been made with this machine, it was soon found that its principle was good, though it was far from being perfect. However, five machines on the same principle were manufactured in the workshops of Printing House Square, and submitted to the test of actual operation. After long trial, in the course of which various important modifications were introduced, composing-machines are now constantly at work in the *Times* office, and about three pages of the paper are every day set up by their means. The operators are apprentices trained in the office. In connection with these machines are mechanical appliances by which the type for their use is not only cast but dressed. There is no such thing as old or even middle-aged type in the printing-offices of the *Times* now. New type is always being cast, and thus the supply for the tubes of the composing-machines and the cases of the compositors are being continually renewed. The enormous progress of the paper itself, and the accommodation required on the premises in the way of extensive workshops, have rendered necessary the great pile of building which Mr. Walter has now erected in Queen Victoria Street and Printing House Square.

The experiments in Mr. Walter's printing-office have not ended with stereotyping, the continuous roll, the Walter Press, and the composing-machine. Other mechanical difficulties are in progress of solution there. It is well that a man with his pecuniary means and mechanical resources should carry out tentative efforts in such a direction, because they could not be made, under equally favourable conditions, by persons in less fortunate circumstances.

The probable effects of the cheap press on the vast influence wielded by the *Times* has been a matter of frequent speculation; but it is believed that the *Times* does not regard itself as the competitor of any of its contemporaries. Its policy is to hold an imperial position all over the English-speaking world. It seeks to exercise a recognised influence on the educated intellect of the country; and when one considers that in the community of intellect and politics, as much as in almost every other sphere of society, there is a growing tendency towards centralisation, one can understand such a policy. Clearly, it must be a convenience, if not an actual necessity, for the community that the governing classes of England should have a common organ in which may be expressed the various phases of public thought. The *Times* may be regarded as holding a certain neutral position for this purpose; and this position it must continue to maintain, so long as it is true to itself and its past history. All the most remarkable collisions of thought seek, by choice, their first expression in that paper; and thus it has the opportunity of accepting or rejecting the cream of everything. Then, owing to its great size, its mechanical appliances, and the extent of its staff, it is able to establish an unrivalled volume of rapid and original intelligence. By means of a special wire from Paris into its office, through which messages are being transmitted from nine o'clock in the evening till the hour at which the paper goes to press, the *Times* is put in possession of not only French news, but also of all the important news received at its office in Paris, during the evening and night, from other parts of the Continent.

It will thus be seen that, as regards the *Times* in its relations towards the public, Mr. Walter has with signal success carried out and developed the policy of his father. He has travelled much, and kept himself fully informed of the progress of things in other countries. A few years ago he went over the United States of America, and made a careful study of the working of the political and social institutions of the great Republic. He bears the reputation of being an excellent employer. He has been much favoured by Providence, too; indeed, he is what the world would agree in calling a fortunate man, except in one sad instance. One deep

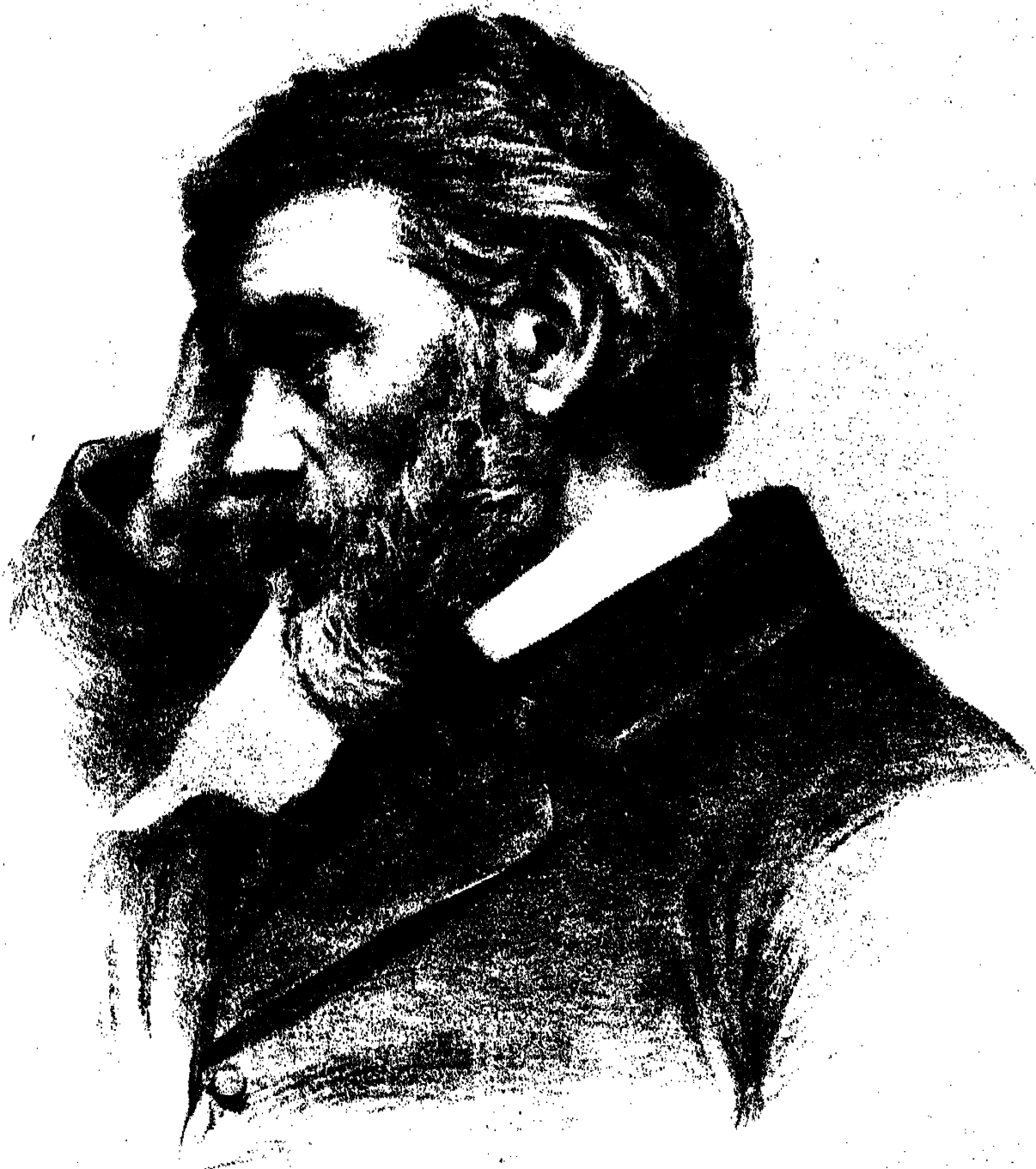
calamity he has sustained—a sorrow too sacred to be touched upon otherwise than very tenderly. Mention of it cannot, however, be omitted in this memoir. At the Christmas of 1870, his eldest son, a young man of the very highest promise, just returned from his travels in distant lands, was drowned in the lake at Bearwood while in the midst of recreation with the family who were rejoicing at his opportune arrival for the festivities of the season. He lost his life in a noble effort to rescue one of his brothers who had fallen through the ice, and who, happily, was saved. If any ~~earthly~~ consolation could have been afforded to Mr. Walter, it must have been conveyed in the universal sympathy tendered to him by the country in the darkest hour of his bereavement.

In conclusion, it may be stated that in 1840 Mr. Walter graduated B.A., having taken honours at his college, Exeter. In 1843 he graduated M.A., and in 1847 he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. He is a Deputy-Lieutenant of London and Berkshire, and his legal studies have well qualified him for the discharge of his duties as a magistrate. Mr. Walter has been twice married: first, in 1842, to Emily Frances, eldest daughter of Major H. Court. This lady died in 1858; and in 1861 he married Flora, third daughter of the late James Monro Macnabb, Esq., of Highfield Park, Hants. Mr. Walter has a large family of children, and his eldest surviving son is Mr. Arthur Walter.

[The Portrait is taken from a Photograph in the collection of Messrs. Barraud & Ferrard, of Gloucester Place, Portman Square.]



Thomas Carlyle



Thomas Carlyle

THOMAS CARLYLE.

WHATEVER else may be true of Thomas Carlyle—whatever may be thought of his especial system of philosophy or of his policy for the world's good governance—it must be allowed that he, more than any other Englishman of his century, has coloured and modelled English thought. If Dr. Samuel Johnson be excepted, it is probable that no man has ever more distinctively stamped the image of his own genius upon the literary feeling of his time. He has bequeathed to us no new faith, he has evolved no new system. The influence exerted by him has been, and is, almost purely idiosyncratic. It would be possible to express in a dozen or so of the wise saws of antiquity the whole of the Carlylean philosophy. Yet he has proved himself one of the most original—one of the newest and freshest of men. The commonplace in life is plentiful because the commonplace in man is plentiful. Bulwer Lytton pointed out that one of the chief attributes of genius is the capacity of wonder. For the man of genius age cannot wither nor custom stale the variety and marvellousness of things. For the great scientist new roads are for ever being opened and new revelations being made, but for the great moral philosopher the bounds are comparatively narrowed. Truth was always true, purity always pure, courage always courageous. In whatever path duty might walk, the moralist could have but one word of counsel—"Follow." But to any new and greatly gifted soul to whom the old gospel may be given to preach, the wonder and the splendour of the world of duty are not dulled because of age, or made threadbare and inglorious by the repetition of their claims. To Thomas Carlyle, at least, they have appealed with all imaginable strength and freshness, and with an almost prophetic ardour he has laid once more before the world the oldest of its axioms.

The special characteristic of Carlyle's genius is probably its intensity. He is for ever enthusiastically in earnest. He is the very Homer of prose, but he never permits himself to slumber. It is obviously impossible for him to over-inform the expression of his opinion. But for this his literary style might occasionally be called exaggerative. It is not so, because he is intenser even than his language, and because language has no tone more piercing than that in which he himself is inwardly addressed. He is terribly in earnest in all things, because to him the universe is in all things so terribly in earnest. When he speaks, it is as if necessity were laid upon him. He has a fine capacity for scorn, and he scorns few things more emphatically than dilletantism, the science of elegant ease and graceful indolence. In the keenness of his satire, the splendour of his eloquence, and the almost volcanic nature of his denunciation, he is very like Byron; but his satire and his denunciation have never lost point or force—as Byron's did—by being merely the outward sign of a discontented egotism. He is free from all intellectual dandyisms and smallnesses. Whether the world is as bad as he has believed, and whether his system for its cure is the only one, may be allowed to remain

for the present as open questions. But it must be acknowledged that he is calmly and fully persuaded of the truth of his own presentments. He has no love more pronounced than that for accuracy; and the union of a poetic passion of utterance with a painstaking and historical adherence to fact is very notable in all he has written.

The history of Mr. Carlyle is that of his mental achievements. The catalogue and the analysis of his books will form the truest biography we shall be readily able to secure. His surroundings from the earliest would be interesting could we authoritatively know them; but, except for bare facts and figures, information on those topics is not to be found. The world will probably have it some day at Carlyle's own hand. In Hoddam parish, in the county of Dumfries, stands the little village of Ecclefechan, a small place with a singular renown of its own, as containing a greater number of bridges than any other township or parish in the United Kingdom. Dr. Currie, one of the earliest biographers of Burns, was born a few miles from here, and here was a future reviewer of Dr. Currie introduced to existence on the fourth of December in the year 1795. The elder Carlyle was a farmer, most probably not a large farmer. One of the reviewers of future days demanded to know why the "son of an Ecclefechan carter" was to rule over literature; a foolish phrase of scorn which was never altogether unjustified in fact. The father of Thomas Carlyle appears to have been a man of much penetration and sagacity. We have it on the son's authority that the family characteristics all pointed that way. "I never heard tell," he said at Edinburgh, "of any clever man that came out of entirely stupid people." Speaking of his own case, he said, "I can trace the father and the son and the grandson, and the family stamp is quite distinctly legible in each of them." It is most probable—indeed, it is almost certain—that the autobiography of the little Gneschen, in "Sartor Resartus," is in all its inward senses that of Carlyle himself. In point of fact, child-experiences of an intellectual kind can only be written in the first person, and were never truly written except from within. The quiet rustic surroundings of the German philosopher's childhood are also very like those of his Scottish creator. Entepfuhl may readily be taken as the fictional apology for Ecclefechan; and the country school of Diogenes' youth would bear some comparison with the parish school of Scotland in the earlier years of this century. From the little parish school Carlyle went to the larger school at Annan, and thence, at the age of fourteen, to the University of Edinburgh. Here he came, as he himself has so pathetically said, hungry for all sorts of knowledge, young, fresh, eager, with the world before him; and here he worked for seven or eight years, not in the most rigid way. We hear of him that he was irregular in application, but that when he did work he carried all things before him. The desultory reading he is reported to have done at this time seems incredibly great in quantity. He studied mathematics under Professor Leslie, and his first promise of distinction appeared in that direction. The first intention of his collegiate training was that he should enter the ministry; but that plan was abandoned long before he left the University. He formed at Annan and confirmed at Edinburgh one of the most beautiful of friendships. It was during the freshest and most impressionable period of life that he became acquainted with Edward Irving, the once famous preacher, a man who is now almost forgotten, except here and there by a few religionists who have adopted his name, and whose forerunners he repudiated before the close of his brief life. There are many still alive who recall the excitement Irving's doctrines created in London; but there are few who have any longer any living memory of the man himself, or who can, at this distance of time, fairly appreciate the causes of the excitement. Carlyle's picture of him helps greatly to a realisation of the wonderful influence he exerted.

and there are sketches from other hands of the two young men in their fervid youthful friendship, which are full of interest and beauty. Alexander Smith found commonplace people who remembered, and were proud to remember, the two young fellows walking up and down for hours together on the sands opposite the "lang toun" of Kircaldy. Carlyle even then was deep, earnest, melancholy, reticent, but given now and again to vehement outbursts of the volcanic order. Irving was a long, powerful, fierce-gestured, impassioned man, with a vivid complexion and a vivid manner, and a dreadful squint, which gave a look almost of diablerie to otherwise noble features. They were as David and Jonathan together, "but Jonathan fell on the hills, not of Gilboa, but of vanity, and David was left behind to mourn his fall." Carlyle has spoken of him as "the bravest, most beautiful, and most brotherly soul" he has ever encountered, or now, after experience enough, can hope to encounter. From such a man these are great words, carrying in themselves a fame which is more worthy than a great deal of public applause or remembrance.

The autobiographical interest of "Sartor Resartus" evidently extends beyond the time of youth. Its educational satire is obviously levelled as much at the curriculum of the Scottish as that of the German University, and the experiences of Carlyle and of Teufelsdröck on leaving their studies are not dissimilar. Of the possibilities of an actual "Blumine episode," in the case of Carlyle himself we have no authority to speak, but, as in the case of Tennyson's "Locksley Hall," the tenderness is so tender, and the whole tone so personal and so informed with passion of one sort and another that it is more than probably real. On his latest public appearance, before the students at Edinburgh, Carlyle especially advised each young man there diligently to seek out that work in the world for which he felt himself fitted. In his own case that diligent search seems to have been attended with much difficulty. It is recorded of a certain great man that on being told by another, "I must live," and that plea being offered as the excuse for a meanness or dishonesty, he replied, "I cannot recognise the necessity." With Thomas Carlyle the mere necessity of living was small compared with the necessity of living well and worthily. For a time he was uncertain as to the way in which he should walk. With his friend Irving he worked for some two years as a schoolmaster, himself instructing in the science of mathematics. In the year 1822 or 1823 he became tutor to Mr. Charles Buller, and has left on record his affection for his pupil, with whom he remained on terms of friendship until they were separated by death. The relation of pupil and teacher was sustained until 1824, and the time which went between these dates was utilised by Carlyle in literary work, and literary preparation. Here and there he had made an appearance in that way, always writing with great clearness and force; but his first regular contributions to literature were made in the *London Magazine*, which was then under the control of Leigh Hunt and Charles Lamb. Sir David Brewster's *Encyclopædia* offered another opportunity, and Carlyle wrote for it biographies of Montesquieu, Montaigne, Norfolk, Nelson, and the elder and younger Pitt. He gave further evidence of his talent and taste for mathematics by the publication of his translation of Legendre's "Geometry," to which he prefixed an original "Essay on Proportion." Everything he did bore the stamp of vigorous and original thought, though the great, *bizarre*, and characteristic dialect, now known as Carlylese, is not recognisable in any effort made by him up to this time. That strange and powerful style seems chiefly to have been formed during the study and translation of Goethe's philosophical romance, the "Apprenticeship of Wilhelm Meister." Before undertaking the translation of that great work, he positively saturated himself with its influence. He mastered its meaning and conceived its spirit anew. As a translation the work is unique and supreme. One of the

most laughable things in literature is Jeffrey's reception of this work in the *Edinburgh Review*. The patronising way in which that autocrat among the penmen compliments Carlyle upon the decency of his acquaintance with the German tongue, is scarcely more richly humorous than his review of the book itself, which opened with a sweeping censure, and concluded with a panegyric. "The whole of this work," wrote Jeffrey, "appears to us foolish, puerile, stilted, and absurd." In the last paragraph of his review he proclaimed that "whatever may be the national difference in taste, genius is permanent and universal." The work, it must be allowed, never appealed to English thought and sympathy as it did to thought and sympathy in Germany. That singular mixture of the transcendental and the vulgar, which constitutes the true German sublime, has but little claim upon the average English intellect. Or, to speak with greater accuracy, the average English mind demands that the two elements shall be presented after a somewhat different fashion from that in which they most greatly charm the German reader. The super-sublime agonies of the "Sorrows of Werther" are mingled with a detail of domestic circumstance which to the English mind lends the whole story a somewhat burlesque air; but the Teutonic intellect recognises no element of bathos in the most intimate mingling of the commonplace and the sublime, in the sudden rising from the one or the sudden descent to the other. Goethe grew far beyond the early standard he had attained when he first charmed the German ear, and somewhat despised his own youthful effort; but it is significant that even the younger of the masculine minds of England were moved to laughter by it from the first. The chief result of the translation of "Wilhelm Meister" was the formation of Carlyle's literary style, which became thenceforth intensely German. It has had its savage critics, and its enthusiastic imitators. Scarcely a writer of promise came forward for years whose manner was not more or less moulded by the Carlylean influence.

He was now fairly afloat on the sea of literature. In the year 1826 he married Miss Welsh, a lineal descendant of John Knox. He has announced himself as a strong believer in pedigree, and his married life at least in part justified his theory. There are few things more intensely pathetic than the epitaph written by Carlyle upon his wife after forty years of married intercourse, and few women have earned a higher tribute of affection than that contained in the words "For forty years she cheered me in all of noble I did or attempted." The melancholy words in which he says that with her death "the light of his life has gone out," are in themselves a most mournful and most noble tribute to departed worth. But in those earlier days, newly married, and well and wisely married, having, too, a settled and solid plan for life before him, knowing his work and loving it, and living his own life undisturbed, in the pleasant little country places he had chosen, he seemed surrounded with an almost idyllic joy and quiet. With his wife came to him a little estate at Craigenputtock, some fifteen miles from Dumfries, and here he lived and laboured for a time, now and again leaving it for another home at Comely Bank, Edinburgh. The reader may find a charming description of his method of life at this time in one of his letters to Goethe. His translation of the great German's prose masterpiece had led to a very affectionate and close correspondence between them. Carlyle always regarded Goethe as the intellectual giant of Europe, and took a great and reverent delight in his friendship until the close of the poet's life put an end to their intercourse. The German element was growing more and more attractive to him. In the year of his marriage he made his first contribution to the *Edinburgh Review*, in the shape of an essay on Jean Paul Richter, whom he may almost be said to have introduced to the English people.

The result of his German studies made itself visible in its most pronounced and distinctive

form in the years 1833—34, when "*Sartor Resartus*," having been refused by several publishers, was at length brought out in serial form in *Fraser's Magazine*. "It was written," says the author, "among the mountain solitudes in 1831; but, owing to impediments natural and accidental, could not for seven years more appear as a volume in England; and had at last to clip itself in pieces, and be content to struggle out, bit by bit, in some courageous magazine that offered." The name of the hero of this remarkable work is a German rendering of the vulgar English for the drug *asafetida*, the village in which he is born and bred is *Entepfuhl* (*Anglice*—Duckpond), and the work of which he is the author is published by *Stillschweigen and Co.* (Silence and Co.), of the city of *Weissnichtwo* (One-knows-not-where). To readers unfamiliar with the German language these names passed as genuine, and even to those who could perceive the humour thus quaintly veiled, the question as to whether the singular names might not have been chosen by an original German writer remained open. The book was not at first successful, a fact, which singular as it may appear, is fully borne out by contemporary criticism. Carlyle's friend, John Sterling, writing to him from Hurstmonceux, on the 29th of May, 1835, asks quite mournfully how it is that the book has found "so little acceptance among the best and most energetic minds of the country." Public opinion changed greatly on that question, and "*Sartor Resartus*" is now for ever one of the very foremost of English classics. Sterling himself classes the book with the rhapsodico-reflective forms of fiction, and puts its author side by side with Rabelais, Montaigne, Sterne, and Swift; but he deplors the fact that his friend has fallen into quaintnesses of dialect, thinking the matter of the book sufficiently startling without the introduction of singular words and phrases. It is worth notice that almost every word which Sterling singles out for condemnation has already become an integral part of the language. Sterling could not at that time fully appreciate the enormous vitality of Carlyle's work, which was not, as the friendly critic fancied, founded on any school, but was itself the foundation of a school. Its progress in England was slow. Two American editions of the book appear to have been printed before an English publisher was found to issue it as a volume. But before long, its reputation grew to fitting stature, and the book has now a place which no criticism can disturb.

Whilst "*Sartor Resartus*" was as yet but floating on the edge of fame, Carlyle came to London, and established himself at Chelsea, in a certain old-fashioned red-brick house of the Queen Anne period, in Great Cheyne Row. From thence he sent out, in the year 1837, the greatest book of his lifetime, the "*History of the French Revolution*." He had, prior to its publication, come before the literary public in another way. In 1835, he appeared as a lecturer, and delivered a course of lectures on German literature at Willis's Rooms. In the next year he delivered another course, entitled the "*History of Literature: or, the Successive Periods of European Culture*." This series found audience at the Literary Institution, Edward Street, Portman Square. The "*Revolutions of Modern Europe*" was the title of a third series. None of these lectures were published in book form, but the lecturer was gradually preparing himself for an outburst of such literary splendour as England had not seen before. In an earlier part of the century Sir Walter Scott had astonished Europe by the rapidity and fecundity of his genius. Carlyle in and about the year 1839 was fated to rival Sir Walter in rapidity of production whilst he presented his very antithesis in slow and careful labour. In 1838, "*Sartor Resartus*" appeared in book form for the first time in England. In 1837, the "*French Revolution*" followed, and took the world by storm. In 1810, he delivered at the London Institution his magnificent series of lectures on "*Heroes and Hero Worship*," and published his essays on Chartism. Here was a simple coming in for one year. Carlyle

rose at once to the head of literary England. He became the chosen and elected prophet and king of the richer half of the intellectual men of the day. His strange great dialect, his trenchant satire, his tremendous denunciation, his terrible earnestness, combined together and told irresistibly. He was utterly new—altogether *sui generis*. There was and had been none like him. He inspired such a fever of admiration as the history of modern men of letters can find no parallel for. Everybody wrote and talked Carlylese. The very critics were infected with his style, and employed the strange tongue they disclaimed and vilified. There can be no reasonable doubt that his "French Revolution" introduced a new epoch in the science of history: and there is every reason to believe that his estimate of the men and the events of the period with which he deals will remain to the world as its final and ultimate verdict. The debauched prince of copper-coloured countenance, the loud-voiced Danton with his shaggy hair, Robespierre with the sea-green in his face, Mirabeau with his eyes aflame, the ignorant, hungry, fierce, impatient people waiting *en queue* at the bakers' doors, the wild processions and speeches, the goings to and fro, the awful triumph of mad populace over brutal aristocracy—all these things are set down in those immortal pages in such a fashion as to be beyond the possibility of other lights. One who has read Carlyle's history of that time, is too apt to feel as though he had been through it to be open to other influences. The writer so emphatically makes an eye-witness of his reader that another version than his own seems at once lame and incredible. The reader can almost fancy that he has been present at the splendid reception of Louis the Well-beloved, and that, in a changed time, he has seen Louis, no longer beloved, die his forlorn and miserable death. He can almost believe that he has heard the dreadful *Ca Ira*, and that he has seen the Bastille sacked and broken, and the severed head of the wicked aristocrat borne aloft with that satiric grass between the lips which will vent their foolish *persiflage* no more. The light in which Carlyle has placed all these events may be somewhat lurid, but it is certainly wonderfully vivid. It is worth notice that even Carlyle's own disclaimer has not allayed one misconception into which he fell in the earlier edition of his work. The story of the sinking of the ship *Vengeur* has now been definitely proved to be untrue, and has been excised from the pages of the history. But even this, and the lengthy appendix in which the fraudulent nature of the narrative is exposed, have failed to kill the story, a fact which is largely due to the great vitality and force of its original relation.

In 1843 "Past and Present" was published, and naturally excited a good deal of attention. Its most admirable feature is the portrait of Abbot Samson, who is as genuinely alive as any figure to be found in the whole realms of fiction and history. In his dealings with the "Present" Carlyle has not been thought so successful. His general outlook upon things is very mournful, and even almost despairing. In 1845 appeared "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations," a book which for the first time enabled the student of English history to form for himself a clear and definite portrait of one of its most significant characters. In his introduction Carlyle speaks of himself as one of those "who struggle, piously, passionately, to behold, if but in glimpses, the faces of our vanished fathers," and it is his highest praise that he has given the world to behold at least one great face clearly. The statue of Cromwell had been so pelted with mud, and so whitewashed over such of the mud as stuck to it, and had again and again been so pelted and whitewashed that all recognisable likeness had long since been hidden. Anything like a clear and honest conception of the life and character of the Protector had become almost impossible. English Puritanism is indeed deeply indebted to

Carlyle, who has once more made it seem not only possible and natural, but, in spite of its frigidities and austerities, a very noble manifestation indeed. It is one of the literary facts of the nineteenth century that history is not any longer written in the dry-as-dust manner. The historical romances of Sir Walter Scott did much to bring about the new method of history, and Carlyle, more than any other writer, has succeeded in blending the living interest of romance with the precision and fidelity of history. The success of the new book appears to have surprised Carlyle, who speaks of it as "contrary to expectation," that the first edition has "spread itself abroad with some degree of impetus," and that a second has been called for. Immediately after its appearance here it was published in America, and had there a success quite as marked as that achieved at home.

"Latter-Day Pamphlets" appeared in 1850, and their tone of denunciation and scorn raised a tremendous critical outcry. Many of the more judicious of Carlyle's admirers wished that he had not written or had not published this book, which is a pure Jeremiad of wrath and contempt for all things and sundry.

In the year following, whilst the critical war was still waging, the most beautiful and charming of all his works appeared, the "Life of John Sterling." It might be said, with some show of reason, that the two biographies of John Sterling lifted him, after death, into a somewhat fictitious importance, and it is certainly true that long after all recognisable work of his has died, his memory will be preserved by the accident of Carlyle's friendship for him. As a mental indication the book is very valuable. It reveals a new aspect in the writer. The "French Revolution" has no element which flows of harmonious blending. Teufelsdröckh dwells in the cave of the "teeth-grinding, glass-eyed, and iron-jawed" and other things. "Sartor Resartus," there are touches of sweet domesticity and homeliness, we are scarcely prepared for such a volume as that on poor Sterling. Carlyle has presented us with a picture so thoroughly characteristic that we learn at least as much of him as of his subject. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the work is that it reveals as much indirectly and by implication—of the writer himself, as it does, directly and by way of straightforward narrative, of its subject. By a sort of principle of common consent it has come to be placed in almost the same rank as Boswell's famous "Life of Johnson." No two works could well be more widely diverse, and the only point of resemblance between them lies in the evident faithfulness of the portraiture of their respective heroes. There is added to the interest the reader feels in the main figure that which is excited by the people among whom he moves. Boswell introduces us to Reynolds and Goldsmith and Garrick. Carlyle gives us glimpses of Gladstone and Stuart Mill, and a perfectly wonderful portrait of Coleridge. It is a somewhat mournful fact that the great dead are less known to us than are the shadowy creatures which they themselves called into life. The reason for this doubtless is that genius has rarely condescended to biography, in view of which fact the "Life of Sterling" grows to be of double value. We have long regarded it as one of the pleasantest of books. To an enthusiastic admirer of Carlyle it is as if Homer should descend from his place amid the gods to talk to us of the affairs of yesterday. The glimpses of life at the Sterling Club are very charming, brief and scattered as they are, and the little village of Llanblethian, and the quiet country life there, could have been drawn by the hand of Boccaccio himself no whit more sweetly. Sterling's life was one more of revealed possibilities than achievements, and he died comparatively young. There has been something singularly mournful about Carlyle's intensest friendships. Goethe, Irving, Sterling, all died early in his knowledge of them.

It was well known that for many years he had been engaged upon the Life of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and when in 1858 the first volume of that work appeared it excited an almost unprecedented interest. In vividness and amplification of detail it is equal with the "French Revolution," and Frederick is made to move once more before the reader in his habit as he lived. The portrait of "old Fritz" is marvellously clear, genial, and life-like; and the whole work is instinct with the life of the time depicted. In the course of his studies for this history, Carlyle visited Germany for the first time, and familiarised himself with localities, and with documents which were only accessible there.

On the 2nd of April, 1866, he was installed as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, and the occasion was throughout the United Kingdom regarded as one of the greatest interest. Extraordinary efforts were made to secure tickets of admission to the hall in which the Rector's speech was delivered. On the platform the new Lord Rector was introduced to the President of the University in the person of Sir David Brewster, and President and Lord Rector possibly thought of a bygone introduction when the latter was unknown, and when the earliest avenue to fame was opened to him in the columns of "Brewster's Encyclopædia." The speech, delivered in the old homely Annandale accent, was received with indescribable enthusiasm. One who was present writes, that towards the close "the applause became less frequent, the silence became that of a woven spell, and the recitation of the beautiful lines from Goethe at the end was so masterly, so marvellous, that one felt in it, that Carlyle's real anathemas against rhetoric were but the expression of his knowledge that there is a rhetoric beyond all other arts." He declined, in a humorous letter, the degree offered him on this occasion, on the plea of possible confusions between himself and his brother, Dr. Carlyle, who is also a man of high note, and is known to literature as the author of a translation of Dante.

During the agitation which took place on Governor Eyre's action in the Jamaica outbreak, Carlyle strongly sided with that much-abused official, and gave his name to the Eyre Defence Committee. He expressed the warmest sympathy with Germany through the Franco-German war, and, partly on this ground, but chiefly as a recognition of the work he had done in propagating the knowledge of German literature in England, the Emperor William conferred upon him the *Ordre pour le Mérite*, an order instituted by Frederick the Great. This was a recognition of worth and service which he felt himself entitled to accept, and there was a universal feeling that though it added nothing to his position or his fame, it could yet have been nowhere more worthily bestowed.

[The Portrait Prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott and Fry.]



Dupont

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THE EARL OF DUFFERIN.



THE Earl of Dufferin is a man formed for popularity. He has qualities which endear him to all manner of widely differing people. If he is not as pre-eminent as some, he is in most things very considerably above other men. He resigned party politics too early to have made any great name by their pursuit, but he was looked to as one of the most promising of the rising speakers and politicians in the House of Lords during his stay there. His counsels were generally sound, and were not the less convincing because they were always good-humoured and very often amusingly offered. In the field of literature again he has done good work, though he has done but little, and that little in a somewhat careless and rollicking way. He is full of a rich and racy and buoyant humour, which seems to be less of the intellect than the heart. It is the humour not of satire or caricature, but of *bouhémie*, a quality which seems in its perfection to be developed only in the Irish gentleman. He can give you an exhaustive, a statesman-like, and an accurate account of the manifold causes which led to the religious disturbances of Syria, and can exhibit in his administration of affairs there great statesmanly qualities, can be at once firm and conciliatory—he can write for you, under other circumstances, a narration of a not-over-sober Icelandic dinner, which for downright fun and jollity would pass muster with honours by the side of Lever's most brilliant page—he is the author of one of the most powerfully-terrible of ballads, and one of the most farcically funny of all dog-Latin speeches. The cynical French philosopher defined the necessities of happiness as a hard heart and a good digestion. The general opinion has, it is to be hoped, tended somewhat against the first half of that definition. In Lord Dufferin's case a good heart and a sound and robust constitution have gone far; and the happiness which has fallen to his own share he reflects upon others. He is publicly and socially a favourite, and is everywhere a welcome guest. Charles Reade, in that amusing *jeu-d'esprit* "The Bloomer," describes in Mr. Fitzpatrick an Irish gentleman who retains all the delightful qualities of his nation without its prejudices. Such a man is Lord Dufferin. He is characteristically Irish, but only so on the enervating side. It would be to flatter the whole people unduly to say that he is a representative man. He has their brightness of humour, their keenness of sympathy and perception, and their national easy, idle grace of fancy, but there Lord Dufferin ceases to be an Irishman. But the people of his native County Down are at least as Scotch as Irish, and the solider qualities of Lord Dufferin may not improbably be traceable in a very important degree to those early influences of home and of immediate local surroundings—which go so far to model every character.

The Right Hon. Frederick Temple Blackwood, K.C.B., K.P., Viscount Clandeboye and Earl of Dufferin, is the only son of Price, fourth Earl of Dufferin, who died on the 21st July, 1841. The mother of the present Earl was the witty and beautiful daughter of Thomas Sheridan. One-and-twenty years after her first husband's death, this accomplished gentlewoman became the Countess of Gifford. Her second period of married life was in respect to its brevity unfortunately like her first, for she died in 1867. Her influence in the formation of her son's character was undoubtedly very strong, and the ties which existed between them, apart from those of filial and maternal affection, are partly shadowed forth in the only book given by Lady Dufferin to the world, in the very title of which she gave a pleasant recognition to the literary merits of her son. Lord Dufferin's "Letters from High Latitudes" supplied the hint for the gracefully humorous "Lispings from Low Latitudes" which afterwards came from Lady Dufferin's pen. But to these works we shall have to allude further on.

Born in the June of 1826, Lord Dufferin was only fifteen years of age when he succeeded to his father's honours. He was educated at Eton, and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he passed through the ordinary curriculum with credit, but without especial honours. Just about the time at which he came of age a dreadful famine broke out in Ireland, and he and a friend, the Hon. Mr. Boyle, went over to Skibbereen together to see for themselves the actual condition of the people, and to devise what schemes they could for their assistance. They published under their joint names a brief history of their journey; and the profits arising from the sale of the book were devoted to the relief of the sufferers. The amount of good effected by the journey could, however, be scarcely measured by the mere monetary product of this little work, which did much to awaken the attention of the general public to the terrible condition of things that prevailed in the district described, and to incite them to assist in ameliorating it. The narrative is written in a very broad, plain, straightforward way, and is thoroughly matter-of-fact. There is no attempt made at effect. The facts are left to speak for themselves, and the result is a narrative of singular pathos and vigour. One part of the story is remarkably affecting in its simplicity. It relates how the two generous young fellows bought a huge basket of bread for distribution among the starving populace, and how they were besieged when the fact of this provision was made known. Something like an orderly distribution was attempted, but the dreadful hunger and impatience of the poor wretches by whom the donors were surrounded rendered this absolutely impossible, and the bread was thrown out to the crowd, loaf by loaf, from a window. It seems that there was nothing better to be done; but the struggles of the famished women, over what was after all but a very indifferent supply, were dreadful to witness. When Lord Dufferin and his companion left the town, the vehicle in which they rode was impeded by the crowds which followed, invoking blessings and praying for further relief. This was the first public manifestation of that goodness of heart, and that attachment to his native country, which are now associated so closely with Lord Dufferin's name. The question of the condition of Ireland is one which has frequently occupied his attention, and on which he has on several occasions written and spoken with deep earnestness and great moderation. From some unfortunate causes, the prospects and the condition of the Irish peasantry have led

almost everybody who has dealt with them to an exaggeration both of statement and of sentiment, in one direction or another. Lord Dufferin has escaped this fault. He knows the people well, and loves them; but even his affection is discriminating, and he is not hyperbolic and overstrained in his praises, or blind to their faults. Speaking before the House of Lords in the March of 1866, he remarked of himself that while he was unidentified with any political school or religious party in Ireland, all his material interests, and he might say a great portion of his happiness, were bound up with the prosperity of that country. This speech was delivered on the motion of Earl Grey that the House should resolve itself into a committee to consider the state of Ireland, and was in opposition to that motion. He allowed that, when it had again been found necessary to apply to Ireland so severe a measure as the suppression of the Habeas Corpus Act, it was right and fitting that they should engage in a searching review of the mutual relation existing between the two kingdoms; and that, however disheartening the process, they should again open what many had begun to regard as the closed volume of Ireland's wrongs, for the purpose of examining item by item, and line by line, that sorrowful account which for so many centuries has shown a balance of grievous obligation to be due from England to the sister country, but which at last there was reason to hope had been redressed and finally settled to the satisfaction of both countries. But, while approving of the course adopted by Earl Grey, so far as it gave an opportunity for considering the state of Ireland, he differed from him with regard to this particular motion. He was convinced that the state of popular disaffection in certain parts of Ireland had neither been occasioned by any neglect of their duty on the part of modern Parliaments, nor would at that time be materially allayed by any exceptional legislation. He attributed that disaffection partly to a national hatred of England, occasioned by wrongs long since abolished and atoned for—partly to the peculiarities of national character—but in a far greater degree to the inexorable operation of certain natural laws, which neither the ingenuity of man nor the conventual omnipotence of Parliament could pretend to control. In fact, the misfortune of the situation in Ireland was regarded by Lord Dufferin as arising from the fact that its social system had been allowed to develop itself for years on vicious principles, and in a wrong direction. When circumstances arose which necessitated its reconstruction, there came about that state of social transition which is always a period of suffering to many individuals. In a case of this kind, even the application of laws which are destined to put the machinery of society into a better ultimate order have often a tendency, by stimulating the process of transition into more violent activity, to promote individual suffering and its consequent discontent.

On the question of Irish Emigration, Lord Dufferin has expressed himself with great force and clearness. In the speech to which allusion has already been made, he dealt with the political aspect of this question. "Until 1846," he said, "the whole social fabric in Ireland was based on the most unsubstantial and dangerous foundation on which any community can rest—a succulent root: from the landlord in his country house to the peasant in his cabin, the dependence of all classes rested upon the potato. The people were then undoubtedly happy, and to this moment those times are regarded as the good old days. But of what sort was their happiness? It is

quite true the son of the poorest cottier, when he had scarcely ceased to be a boy, could always find a patch of ground on a mountain-side on which to grow his favourite vegetable, a sufficiency of stones and mud for the walls of his cabin, and a healthy buxom girl to make him father of half-a-dozen children in as many years, while the domestic pig paid the rent; and generation after generation went on propagating pigs, children, and potatoes, in what was no doubt a very free-hearted and agreeable manner; but will any lover of his species dare to tell me that this was a system of existence either to be regretted or to be re-established, or that the thousands and thousands of energetic, industrious Irishmen who are pushing their way in the world on the other side of the Atlantic, have not been immensely benefited by the change of life which the interposition of Providence, and not the authority of Parliament, has imposed upon them? It is true the crisis of transition undoubtedly entailed a great deal of individual suffering, and the poor ignorant people who found themselves compelled to leave the glens and fields endeared to them by so many happy memories, revolted against the change and quitted the land of their fathers with a bitter feeling of resentment against both the Government and their landlords—amongst the latter of whom, by the way, no less than 3,000 were engulfed in the same calamity, and have been disposed of by the Encumbered Estates Court.” The calamity here alluded to is, of course, the great potato famine. Lord Dufferin goes on to contend that in the present condition of affairs the emigration complained of is a blessing to those who go and to those who remain. “Depend upon it,” he added, “as soon as conditions favourable to its development again exist, population will recreate itself; and perhaps there is no race in the world which has given such unmistakable evidence of its expansive power. Moreover, I would ask those who talk of Ireland’s resources, how is it possible to develop the resources of any country until you obtain tranquillity? As Aristophanes said long ago, ‘Plutus is a very timid god,’ and depend upon it, he is the last person to trust himself in the midst of a Fenian agitation.”

These are undoubtedly wise though, perhaps, somewhat sad words. Lord Dufferin’s conclusions on this whole question were expressed with very great clearness by him in the evidence he gave before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Tenure and Improvement of Land (Ireland) Act, in the May of 1865. His examination extended over a period of four days, and elicited a great amount of very valuable and reliable information, and a number of well-digested and useful opinions. On the famous proposal of Mr. John Stuart Mill with respect to the means to be adopted for the pacification of Ireland, Lord Dufferin issued a pamphlet in which he criticised, and very effectively disposed of, that strange and surprising proposal of the philosopher’s. For once Mr. Mill spoke without practical knowledge on a subject on which only a man of practical knowledge could discourse with much hope of profit; and the result, if not disastrous to his reputation, was only not so because that reputation was so great and so firmly established on other grounds.

In the year 1856, in the schooner yacht “Foam,” Lord Dufferin made that pleasant voyage to Iceland, Jan Mayen, and Spitzbergen which resulted in the publication of “Letters from High Latitudes.” This cheerful and charming book has a sorrowful beginning. On almost its earliest page, surrounded by a black border, are these words—“I had intended to dedicate these pages to

Francis Egerton, Earl of Ellesmere. I now dedicate them to his memory." On the opposite page is this verse from "In Memoriam"—

"But since it pleased a vanish'd eye,
I go to plant it on his tomb,
That if it can, it there may bloom,
Or dying, there at least may die."

The book is full of charming bits of writing, and shows from first to last a sunny temper, a cheerful and rollicking sense of humour, and a power of description far above the average. This, for instance, is a very fair specimen—"I have now to relate to you a most painful occurrence which has taken place during my absence at the Geysirs—no less a catastrophe, in fact, than a mutiny among my hitherto unexceptionable ship's company. I suppose they too had had occasion to bear witness to the proverbial hospitality of Iceland—salt junk and the innocuous cates which generally compose ship-board rations could never have produced such an emergency. Suffice it to say that, 'Dyspepsia and her fatal train' having taken hold of them, in a desperate hour they determined on a desperate deed, and making off in a body, demanded of my faithful steward, not only access to the penetralia of the absent doctor's cupboard, but that he himself should administer to them whatever medicaments he could come by. In vain Mr. Grant threw himself across the cabin door. Remonstrance was useless—my horny-handed lambs were inexorable—unless he acceded to their demands they threatened to report him when I returned! The doctor's sanctuary was thrown open, and all its sweets were rifled. A huge box of pills, the first that came to hand—they happened to be calomel—was served out share and share alike, with concomitant vials of wrath, of rhubarb and senna; and it was not until the last drop of castor oil had been carefully licked up, that the marauders suffered their unwilling accomplice to retire to the fastnesses of his pantry. An avenging Nemesis, however, hovered over the violated shrine of Esculapius. By the time I returned the exigencies of justice had been more than satisfied, and the outrage already atoned for. Fresh from the Oriental associations suggested by our last day's ride, I involuntarily dismissed the disconsolate culprits with the Asiatic form of admonition—'Mashallah, you have made your faces white! Go in peace!'"

In a widely different vein the fiery legends of the North, which lend this volume one of its greatest attractions, are told; and in a widely different vein the two weird ballads of "The Last Battle of King Hacon" and "The Black Death of Bergen" are written. These two songs, and the verses with which the volume appropriately opens, prove that Lord Dufferin has no mean command over the art of the poet.

That comical dog-Latin speech which has already been mentioned, Lord Dufferin states that he delivered on this journey at an Icelandic dinner, at which the toast of his health was proposed by a reverend gentleman of the island, and drunk with huge enthusiasm by his entertainers. In response to the toast, his lordship, who knew nothing of the Norse tongue, was forced back upon his Latin, and adopting the high Roman vowel pronunciation, he delivered his soul in the fashion following:—"Viri illustres, insolitus ut sum ad publicum loquendum, ego propero respondere ad complimentum quod recte reverendus prelatius mihi fecit, in proponendo meam salutem; et supplico vos credere quod multum gratificatus et flattificatus sum honore tam distincto. Bibere viri illustres, res est

quæ in omnibus terris, 'domum venit ad honimum negotia et pectoru;' requirit 'haustum longum, haustem fortem, et haustem omnes simul;' ut canit Poeta, 'unum tactum Naturæ totum orbem facit consanguineum,' et in hominis Natura est—bibere."

In the years 1860 and 1861, Lord Dufferin was engaged upon an important service under the Government of Lord Palmerston, having been sent out as British Commissioner to Syria, to examine into and report upon the perpetual religious quarrels which took place in the Lebanon between the Maronites and the Druses, and more especially to inquire into the facts of the dreadful massacre of Christians which had recently taken place in that district. From time immemorial the Turks and Christians of that ilk had lived on the least amicable and most mutually suspicious of all possible terms. The respect for human life—or rather the want of all respect for it—appears, with tolerable equality, to have characterised each side. During the fifteen years which immediately preceded the despatch of the British Commissioner, affairs had either grown worse than ever, or public attention had from easily recognisable causes been more fully directed to their shameful position. Between the fanatical leaders of the Mahomedan and the Christian parties, there had always existed a deadly spite, and this was now increased by the fact that the Christians were emerging from the bonds in which they had for many ages been bound, and were rising to some degree of self-government. The Turks grew daily more jealous of the power and independence of a body so intimately associated with themselves by the force of the circumstance of daily life, and so far apart from them in interest, in belief, and in sympathy. The great Powers had in the year 1845 entered into a convention for the protection of the Christians, whose arrogance and self-importance became on this recognition extremely provoking to their neighbours, whose distinct policy it now was to prove the maintenance of that convention a practical impossibility. With this purpose they stimulated the chronic animosity which existed between the Maronites and the Druses. As the foreign influences increased the arrogance and the fanaticism of the Christians, so they increased the hatred of the Turks towards them, and it was at last decided by the Turkish authorities to inflict upon them a severer chastisement than they had ever yet received. But the Turks, making their arrangements with great cunning, and dreading the vengeance of the protecting Powers, determined to inflict this punishment not by any visible means of their own, but through the instrumentality of the Druses. What made this the more excusable was, that the Turks well knew that the Christians had long meditated an attack upon the Druses, which was to end in the overthrow of the Turkish Power in the Lebanon. Early in May a monk was found murdered in a convent, and the Maronites straightway killed a Druse in retaliation, and the miserable drama was continued by several assassinations on either side. Such was the condition of the popular feeling that the most trifling and ridiculous of pretexts was enough, with either side, to create a riot, and to provoke to murder. On the 8th of July, a fanatic mob of Mussulmans attacked the Orthodox Greek Church at Gaza, and half wrecked it, their reason for this proceeding being that they could not endure to see the building whitewashed, or fresh-painted. The Consular officers of Great Britain and France were murdered at Jeddah, and the Druses gave themselves up fully to the thirst for blood which now possessed them. Everywhere scenes of horror took

place. On the 30th of May, Haskeya, a large town near Mount Hermon, was attacked by the Druses. The Turkish commander told the inhabitants that if they would lay down their arms he would protect them. This offer they at once accepted. They laid down their arms, and were sent by the commander under a small escort towards Damascus. But they had accepted, as they soon discovered, the assistance of a traitorous friend. They were met on the way by a body of Druses. Their escort offering no resistance, they were seized. The town was now rid of all its armed inhabitants, and the villainous commander withdrew his forces and made way for the attack of the Druses on the old men, the women, and the children whom the town now alone, or almost alone, contained. The whole of that population was most revoltingly murdered. The fierce Eastern blood was aflame, and the old dreadful Eastern atrocities were perpetrated. Women saw their children hacked to pieces, and were afterwards, before their own death came, pelted with the mangled limbs of their own offspring. All the brutal cruelties which rage could inspire or malice invent were practised. Other towns shared the same awful fate. At Deir el Kammar the gates of the place were thrown open by a traitor; the Druses rushed in and put every male creature to the sword. The women who escaped from this scene had such stories to tell of the horrors put in practice as are probably only to be equalled by the awful annals of the Indian Mutiny. The estimate of the numbers killed varies from 900 to 1,800. Beyrout was threatened, but was saved by the presence of an English pleasure-yacht carrying but a single gun. In Damascus there were from 16,000 to 18,000 Christians, in addition to a great number of wretched refugees who had fled thither for safety. When the Druses attacked this, the most important of all the Christian places of abode, the troops who were sent out to quell the disturbances joined in them, and assisted in the slaughter it was their duty to suppress. Strong representations were made by the councils representing the Christian Powers of the dreadful state of things that now obtained in Syria, and the Sultan at last sent out Fued Lasha, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, taking with him a large force, executed vengeance with true Oriental swiftness and indiscrimination. Having hanged and shot with great freedom, and having arrested over 400 people in three days, he considered his duty done, and rested upon his laurels. The French Government, recognising the necessity for action, sent out an expedition 12,000 strong, under General Beaufort d'Hautpoul; but before this event took place Lord Dufferin was appointed to act as British Commissioner in this matter, in conjunction with Commissioners appointed by France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The object of the Commission was to inquire into the origin of the outbreak, to alleviate the sufferings of the Christians, and to make arrangements, as far as possible, for the preservation of future order in Syria. Lord Dufferin was of opinion that the best chance for obtaining a good government for the country was by detaching its administration from its dependence on a distant capital; by rendering the head of the new Government responsible for what occurred within his jurisdiction; by recommending for his adoption certain improvements in the administrative department of his pashalic; and by subjecting his government to such an amount of supervision as would be implied by the residence of political agents from the five Powers at his Court. With guarantees like these, and under the government of an able man, he believed they could make this kind of disturbance as impossible in Syria as it is now in Scotland, or in any other

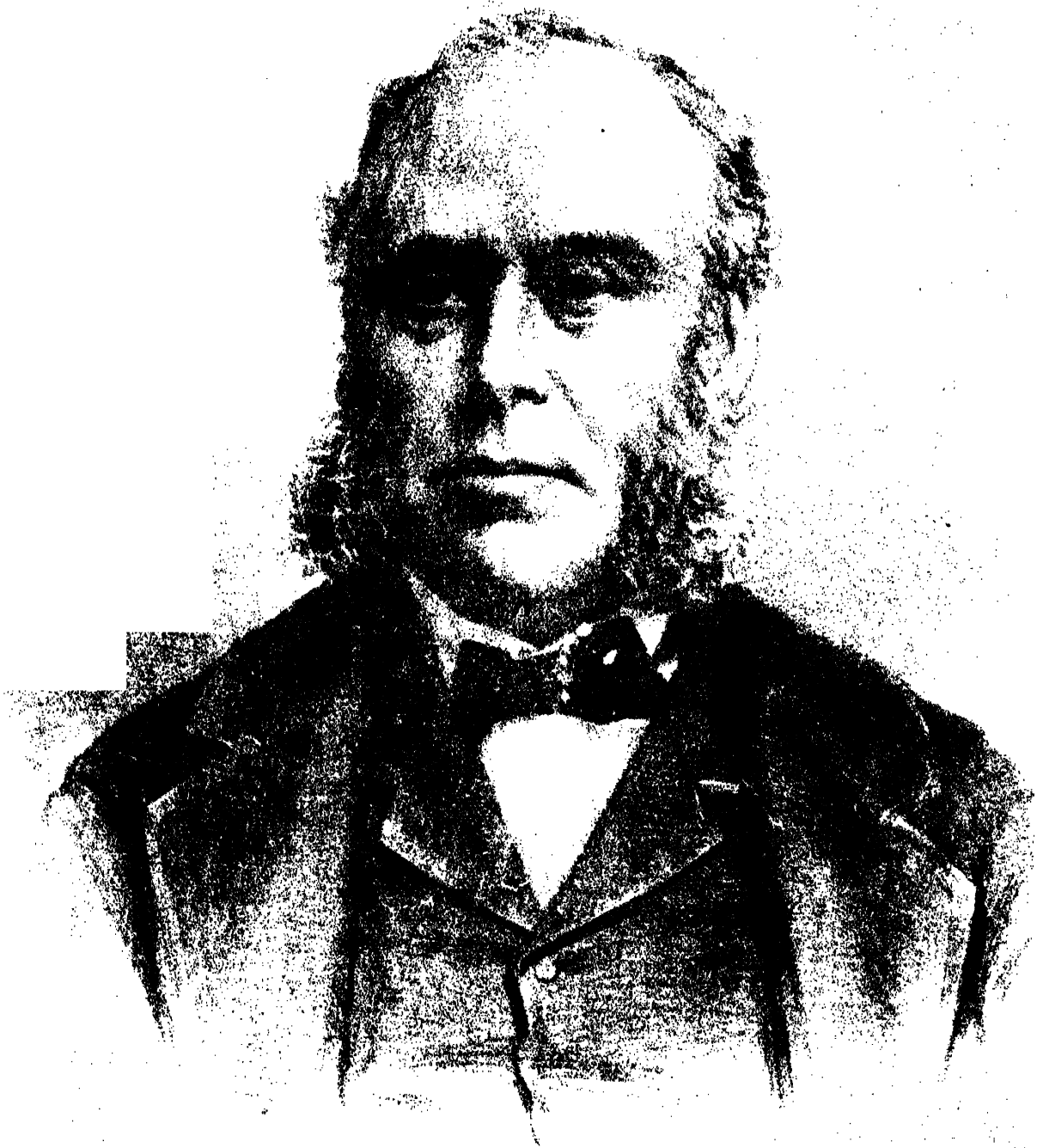
country where a state of society at one time not a whit less disorderly has long since disappeared beneath the beneficent influences of civilisation. Lord Dufferin, with admirable impartiality, proclaimed that the right of the Druse nation to the maintenance of an undisturbed residence in the Lebanon was as indefeasible as that of the Christians to occupy the Kesrouan; and he pointed out that it was as important to secure a peaceful tenure for the Druses as for the Christians, since the latter would always be likely to command the sympathies of the European Powers, whilst none of the indulgencies of assistance would be extended to the former. In his conduct of the whole difficult and complicated case Lord Dufferin displayed great tact, good-temper, and discretion, and his despatches to Sir H. Bulwer are full of interest.

Lord Dufferin held the post of Under-Secretary for India from 1864 to 1866, and that of Under-Secretary for War at the close of his first term of Parliamentary office. In 1867—72 he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was removed from that position when he was made Governor-General of Canada and Commander-in-Chief of Prince Edward Island. That office he still holds. He is in the Dominion as widely popular and as great a social favourite as at home. His social popularity is largely enhanced by the graces and accomplishments of the Countess, his wife, who is the eldest daughter of the late Archibald Rowan Hamilton, of Killyleagh Castle, County Down.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Fradelle and Marshall, Regent Street.]



William A. Smith



William B. Smith

LONG before the days of railways, telegraphs, and a cheap press, there stood near the east corner of Wellington Street, in the Strand, a house of business which may be described as a news-agency, though it was as much behind that branch of commercial enterprise so actively flourishing at the present time, as newspapers then were behind newspapers now. That modest though prosperous establishment, conducted and owned by a man of great energy, whom we may now speak of as William Smith the elder, was well known to the last generation of Londoners. Those who knew him too, knew a plain, straightforward business man, who, though he might be said to have dealt in politics, had little taste for them, or else did not care to show it. He had enough to do in distributing all varieties of that stock-in-trade, from the high Toryism of Gifford to the Radical extremes of "Publicola;" and, in truth, a comparatively small agency for the sale of news at that time must have been far more difficult to manage, because infinitely more cumbrous than in the present era. Many years after that time, when the elder news-agent's son, the subject of this memoir, presided at a dinner of the benevolent institution connected with his business, he spoke with practical knowledge of an occupation which, with all its changes, and perhaps because of them, claims from its followers greater exactitude, more punctuality, more constant labour, more unceasing anxiety, greater endurance to meet the strain upon their patience, nerves, determination, and very health, than any other business of the age. They have to be at their work for six days of the week; for the newspaper, which formerly was a luxury, is now a necessity of social existence. Mr. Smith was able to speak from recollection of a time when newspapers were sold by tens that are now circulated by thousands. In this matter of circulation, he declared that the London press has in the past twenty years increased and multiplied more than a hundredfold. The high-class provincial papers of Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Leeds, and, in fact, all the great towns of the kingdom, have taken commensurate leaps, and are equal in strength and importance to any of the London journals as they flourished a very few years ago. No other power, said Mr. Smith, has grown like the newspaper press of Great Britain. "Years ago, the newspapers were only conveyed to the doors of men rich enough to subscribe for them. The price of a daily paper was then sevenpence; now it is a penny; whilst the paper itself is four times the bulk it used to be." These facts may be trite; but it is better that they should be repeatedly stated, even in weariness, than that marks so significant of the intellectual life of Englishmen should be slighted or forgotten. In the present case—that of our biographical sketch—they are indeed of somewhat more than ordinary importance.

The private life of public men is very apt to be, if not uneventful or uninteresting, removed for the most part from general notice. If the nation is happy whose annals are dull—an axiom which has the epigrammatic quality of suggesting truth without being true—the legislator

and statesman is more certainly to be felicitated who has no story to tell of himself, and who is the subject of very few stories told by other people. "It is so trite an observation that the life of a man of letters is too uniform to render the relation of it interesting," said Lord Holland, "that the remark has become as regular an introduction to literary biography as the title-page and dedication are to a book." The fallacy of this observation has been pointed out by Mr. Lewes, who contends that authors' lives in general are *not* uniform. They are, he declares, strangely chequered by vicissitudes; and if little variety is found in the outward circumstances, the want is made up in the inward struggles. In an author's life, ideas are events; and where the biographies of literary men have been devoid of interest, the fault has lain with the biographers. Much nearer the realisation of Lord Holland's dictum touching biographical uniformity, and consequent want of interest, would have been the case of a clear-headed practical man of affairs, who, early in life, is taken into partnership by his father in a business to which he has been brought up; who continues that business with steadily increasing success after his father's death; who builds up an ample fortune; who is singular in escaping the envy, hatred, and malice which too often beset successful men; who, so far from making enemies, lives in a perpetual calm of good-will; who to magisterial honours adds, in time, the dignity of a seat in Parliament; whose conspicuous ability as a working member of the House of Commons is very soon recognised by the leader of his party, and is rewarded by office; who shows the same assiduity and grasp of method in affairs of the State as in the conduct of his own; and whose career, up to the ripe, but still promising, period of an active and useful middle-age, has been unchequered by a scandal, a reproach, or a dispute.

Such a biography, level but not mediocre, is that of Mr. William Henry Smith, one of the members for the Borough of Westminster, and Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He is the son of that Mr. William Henry Smith, of the Strand, London, and Bournemouth, Hants, bookseller, publisher, and news-agent, of whom we have already spoken; and he was born in the year 1825. The firm of W. H. Smith and Son, which some years ago migrated a short distance eastward from those premises in the Strand now occupied by Messrs. Willis and Sotheran, the booksellers, is of national, almost of world-wide, celebrity; and its fame is linked with the modern history of journalism, and the dissemination of fact, thought, and opinion among the people. A wonderful history, indeed, is this; not to be obscured, or diminished, or degraded by facile sneers—mostly stolen ready-made, and few worth the theft—levelled at the cheap newspaper press. It is now universally cheap, by the bye; for the dearest newspaper does not cost half the price it did in the good old days of restricted knowledge, when the only thing very common was the inability of people to read. At the most your morning paper now costs you a very few pence, a mere nothing compared with the increased price of nearly all other necessities of life; but the daily history of the world may in truth be brought within your grasp by the outlay of a penny or a halfpenny. There are published in England 1,247 newspapers, of which 939 are provincial, leaving the large proportion of 308 for London alone. Of course, this includes a great many local prints, trade journals, and what may be called "organs of private opinion," that is to say, diffusers of peculiar notions among a small class. There are also a few, or more than a few, publications which we should not call newspapers, in the ordinary sense, but which, nevertheless, are registered as newspapers, and do actually give news, though it may not be of universal import. Wales manages to support 58 papers only, which supply is below the average of the United Kingdom, taking population and area into account. In Ireland 137 newspapers are published, and in Scotland 149; so that Ireland and Scotland

together fall a little short of London in newspaper productivity, their joint total being 286, against the 308 which, as we have already shown, is the metropolitan quota of registered newspapers. When we add the small number of 18, as contributed by the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Man, the aggregate supply of newspapers for the United Kingdom will be seen to be 1,609. Few of these are altogether unknown to the railway book-stalls of W. H. Smith and Son, a large portion of whose profit, however, accrues upon the sale of not more than a tenth, probably, of the entire list of British daily and weekly journals. This profit may be called considerable in the gross; but taken in detail it is amazing to think how small it is, and how many papers must be separately distributed before a penny is turned. Out of such very trifling "taxes on knowledge" has a fortune been built—built at no sacrifice of principle, no diminution of self-respect, no loss of social esteem, no injury to peace of mind, no deadening of conscience. How many wealthy men can sit down with this comfortable reflection? Just so many, let us say, as have made, or are making, the very operation of accumulating riches beneficial at every step to their fellow-men. There is no greater mercantile contrast than between this mode of growing wealthy—the employment, directly or indirectly, of human thousands, in the enlightening of tens and hundreds of thousands—and financial jobbery, or the game of speculation. From the editor or writer whose scholarship adorns, whose wit enlivens, and whose convictions influence the literature of journalism, down to the smallest vendor of newspapers, through all grades and conditions of busy workers, a multitude as varied in qualities and as large in number as an army, owes gratitude to the enterprise which has played an important part in developing a power that in no other country of the world penetrates so deeply or stands so high.

It is obvious that an immense moral responsibility lies with the managers of a trade like this; a trade which deals as largely in books, magazines, and all kinds of popular publications, as in newspapers. We do not, if the unfortunate truth must be spoken, so fully recognise the duty of a bookseller, in England, as that duty is recognised in Germany. A little while ago, in a very remarkable speech delivered at Manchester, the President of the Chamber of Commerce in that money-making town instanced the celebrated German publisher and bookseller, Friedrich Perthes, in support of an argument tending to elevate the function of a "great tradesman" in the community. The distinguishing characteristic of Perthes was his conscious recognition of the high services open to him in his simple capacity of bookseller. He was constantly asking himself, "How can I, a bookseller, *as* a bookseller, promote in every best way the independence, the progress, the well-being of Germany? How can I, a bookseller, *as* a bookseller, promote to the utmost the cause of true art, of true literature, of true religion? How can I, not in addition to, but by virtue of, my calling, be in my own measure perfect as a citizen and as a man?" Commenting on this lesson addressed to Lancashire merchants, the *Times* observed that a German bookseller was an exceptional example to be held up for their imitation. "Booksellers in Germany are almost a professional class. They possess an intelligent acquaintance with literature which is not expected, or at least not generally found, in the same class in England; and in fact the publisher of books in that country is regarded as near akin to the writer of them. A German bookseller will frequently tell you as much about the literature of a subject in which you are making researches as the professor in the same town, who is as likely as not to be his brother." All this is perfectly true, and the comparison is not flattering to our national vanity. But if learning, wide and deep, be a less frequent attribute of English than of German booksellers, if a Tauchnitz or a Perthes have no exact parallel in "the Row,"

we may yet assert, in behalf of this all-important trade in its relations to society, a conscientious sense of the gravest obligations among those who take the lead in disseminating knowledge throughout the population of England. Honourably associated with the maintenance of purity in our national literature is the name of William Henry Smith. From the many depôts that dot the railway lines of this kingdom all publications that vitiate and degrade public taste, that purposely and directly minister to the morbid craving for scandal, that confuse ideal satire with material libel, that court the admiration of cynical ignorance, and that sap the half-informed intellect which most needs a kindly and honest support, are banished. The pernicious rubbish that apes the old satiric form, that lacks the faintest twilight glimmer of the fierce satiric brightness, that has no meaning in its malice or motive in its spite, that is not real in any one thing but shamelessness, may be bought in some of the most respectable thoroughfares; but railway travellers are denied the luxury of such mental refreshment, as they are whisked hither and thither on the face of merry and, on the whole, sound-hearted England.

Having, in his father's life-time and afterwards, applied his great natural energies to the continual extension of such a business as that which we have described or indicated, Mr. Smith found time to interest himself in public and local affairs, and to take part in their discussion and control. As a magistrate for two counties—Middlesex and Herts—he has been no neglecter of the duties entailed by his position. He is a Deputy Lieutenant for Middlesex; and though his busy life compels him to pass the greater portion of his time in London, he supports on occasion the useful character of a country gentleman.

It was in Mr. Disraeli's first premiership, in the year 1868, that Mr. Smith, who had three years earlier contested Westminster unsuccessfully in the Conservative interest, entered Parliament. Of his election for that borough, so remarkable in the modern history of our representative system, we shall presently speak. The reality of any sentiments held by a man so thorough in his character and so practical in his habits cannot be doubted; but it is quite necessary to the clearness of definition that we should remember how Conservatism has grown and altered with the times. Probably enough, the first use of the word "Conservative," in any reference to party politics, may be fixed on John Wilson Croker, who, in an article on "Internal Policy," which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. xliii., No. 83, p. 276) for January, 1830, wrote thus: "We despise and abominate the details of partisan warfare; but we are now, as we always have been, decidedly and conscientiously attached to what is called the Tory, and which might with more propriety be called the Conservative, party." Five years later the Rev. Sydney Smith's intimate friend and Sir Robert Peel's valued correspondent, Mr. Thomas Walker, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister-at-Law, one of the police magistrates of the metropolis, and, above all, author of "The Original," published his "Principles of Government," wherein he defined the Democratic principle as "the principle of popular government fitly organised," the Ochlocratic principle as "the principle of mob government, or government by too large masses," and the Oligarchic principle as "the principle of exclusive government, or government by too few." In this essay the word "Conservative" was used very remarkably, in a very remarkable passage, the chief part of which we quote. "The democratic principle," wrote Mr. Walker, "has the most stability, and is the only one under which perfect freedom can exist. The oligarchic, which is the Tory principle, is more stable than the ochlocratic, and is less unfavourable to liberty. The democratic is the real *conservative* principle, and the ochlocratic the real destructive." Now it

is pretty plain from the foregoing, in which the word "conservative" was not italicised by the author, but is so emphasised by us for the mere purpose of calling attention to its peculiar application, that those five years had not brought about the universal adoption of the term in the political significance suggested by Mr. Croker in the *Quarterly Review*. Still it had not passed unnoticed. Gradually, and after some repetitions in the pages of the same publication, it supplanted the more obscure party-term; and as new Presbyter was old Priest, "writ large," so Conservative stood for Tory, and Liberal for Whig. The most important measures which have been passed in Mr. Smith's Parliamentary experience, and which he has had a hand in passing, can hardly be identified with any assertion of party-principle. They have been conceded to requirements, obvious or supposed, of the time, and they carry no evidence of their own by which it would be possible to trace their political origin. If anything, it has been the "conservative democracy" of which Mr. Thomas Walker wrote, just forty years ago, that has outwardly dictated the legislation of a later day.

On the 27th of February, 1868, Mr. Disraeli had an audience of Her Majesty, and kissed hands upon his appointment as First Lord of the Treasury. The late Earl of Derby had resigned on the 25th, in consequence of failing health; and General Grey, who had defeated Mr. Disraeli at High Wycombe in the memorable year of 1832, was the bearer of the Queen's autograph letter to that right honourable gentleman, announcing that she had selected him as the noble Earl's successor, and commanding him to "submit what alterations in the Cabinet his experience suggested." The whirligig of time had thus brought its revenges; and a scarcely less notable instance of this continual turning of Fortune's wheel was to follow, when, on an appeal to the country, which gave its general voice for a Liberal Government and the return of Mr. Gladstone to the head of affairs, London showed a strong Conservative reaction, Baron Rothschild being thrown out for the City, and Mr. John Stuart Mill sustaining a yet more significant defeat for Westminster at the hands of Mr. W. H. Smith. A Westminster election, in earlier times, was prolific of rows and every kind of ruffianly display. Conveniently situated for the handy collection of cabbage-stumps, rejected turnips, and crushed and mouldering oranges, the hustings in Covent Garden became a sort of pillory on a magnified scale. The removal of the site to Charing Cross was, no doubt, a heavy blow and great discouragement to the London savage bent on political demonstration. The shed-like structure, open towards the statue of Charles I., was just in front of the Nelson column; and an excited but not disorderly crowd gathered before it when Mr. Smith, the Conservative candidate, who was the first comer, presented himself, a few minutes before the appointed hour of noon. Sir Charles Russell, the Hon. Mr. Grimston, Messrs. Bohn, Twining, Cubitt, Watney, and other gentlemen accompanied him. The Liberal candidates were Captain Grosvenor and Mr. John Stuart Mill. When Mr. Smith's turn came to address the electors—he spoke last—his sympathy with all classes was made, as it most truthfully could always be made, the opening declaration of his speech. He held that the whole commonwealth was built up together, and that the supremacy of any one class was hostile to the true interests of all. He was anxious to do justice to Ireland; but not by injustice to a venerable institution and an important section of the Irish people. He was for retrenchment as far as it could be safely attained, and for a wide system of national education, in order to enable every parent to get schooling for his children. In conclusion of his hustings address Mr. Smith avowed himself a Liberal-Conservative, pledged not to party but principle, and determined to give an independent and conscientious vote. Next day's poll showed Mr. Smith at the head, by a thousand and more over the

successful Liberal candidate, Captain Grosvenor, who in his turn was about 150 ahead of the vanquished philosopher and economist, Mr. John Stuart Mill. This was before the days of secret voting; but Mr. Smith has proved his popularity, and justified the trust reposed in him by his political and non-political supporters, under the Ballot as well as before the passing of that measure.

On the Education question, we need hardly remind our readers, Mr. Smith has since come prominently before the public as an advocate on the Conservative's and Churchman's side of the controversy; but at the same time as a moderator of excessive zeal on both sides. His arguments for the adoption of a single School Board for London were persistently urged, and with ultimate success. It may be mentioned, by the way, that Mr. Smith was a member of the first and second School Boards; his retirement in 1874 being occasioned by the pressure of official duties.

Mr. Smith's first Westminster victory was in November, 1868. In the session of 1869 he proved his soundness of argument rather than his eloquence—for he is no great orator, in the common acceptation of the word—by compelling Mr. Lowe, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to give way on the point of the Crown's claim to the lands reclaimed from the river, by the construction of the Thames Embankment. As the champion of the ratepayers, Mr. Smith stuck manfully to his cause, contending that they who had borne the whole expense of the great undertaking were legally and equitably entitled to any property that had accrued from the labours of the engineers. An active warfare was waged for some time on the question between the Government and the governed; but Mr. Lowe was in the end obliged to yield. We have said that Mr. Smith is not remarkable for any oratorical gift, except that of a persuasive force, employed with conscientious persistence and tenacity of purpose. In an assembly which is renowned for being but seldom influenced as to its votes by eloquent speeches, the Parliamentary triumphs of Mr. Smith are greater than some which have been achieved by brilliant rhetoric within the walls of St. Stephen's. At all events, we may say they are more practical, and more decisive in their effects.

The second time of Mr. Smith's appealing to the suffrages of the Westminster constituency was in the general election of 1874; and his return at the head of the poll showed a more remarkable majority in his favour even than that which confirmed his first victory. During the great contest of parties, in the canvassing of the country, Mr. Gladstone did battle with Mr. Smith on questions of taxation. Addressing the electors of Greenwich, the some time Premier and leader of the Liberal ranks adverted to the discussion which had taken place in Parliament in 1873, "when an important financial measure was submitted to the country by Mr. Lowe." The proposal, in which the Liberal Government was supported by a majority of the House of Commons, was to remove the income tax from fourpence to threepence in the pound, and at the same time to remit a large portion of the sugar duty. Mr. Smith proposed to leave the sugar duty alone, and to remit twopence instead of a penny of the Income Tax. "Of this," said Mr. Gladstone, "Mr. Smith is bold enough to boast in his address to his late constituents in Westminster." The address thus criticised in part is, as a whole, worth preserving for its temperate exposition of those "Liberal Conservative" doctrines of which Mr. Smith had avowed and proved himself a consistent disciple.

After some general references to the political state of the country, the candidate for re-election to Westminster said, "I supported Mr. Forster in his Education Bill, and in his resolve that religious instruction shall not be proscribed or discouraged in elementary schools, and I should resist any alteration of the Act which would reverse an educational policy I should consider necessary to the well-being of the country. I endeavoured in the session of 1872 to procure

from the Government a reduction of twopence in the pound upon the income tax, but although I was supported by the whole strength of the Conservative party, I was unsuccessful, as the Government and their supporters were not then sensible of the severe pressure of the tax upon the trading and professional classes. In like manner, in the last session, I failed upon my motion to obtain from the Government any statement of the manner in which they were prepared to deal with the increasing burdens of local taxation, which had been ably pointed out by Sir Massey Lopes. I should, therefore, give my cordial support to any measure which the finances of the country will justify calculated to relieve the income-tax payer and to lessen the burden of local rates. In concert with my political friends, I have deprecated, and should continue to deprecate, great organic changes in submission to the clamour of professional agitators who aim at destruction rather than reform. There is, in my judgment, ample work for the energies of Parliament without embarking upon great constitutional changes which are not desired by the people. Among other questions would be the consideration of the steps necessary to increased efficiency and economy in the internal administration of the various Departments of the Government, in simplifying and codifying the law, and in some attempt to deal with great social questions, among which pauperism is probably the most serious in its effect on the strength and vitality of the country."

There is a definiteness in almost every sentence of this plain, practical, business-like address which commends itself to Englishmen. It is difficult to conceive that any one but an Englishman could have written it; though indeed we are not unfamiliar with a vague inflated method of generalisation, the resort of shifty politicians, which is quite as English in its way, but far from being as creditable to our national character for sincerity. Instead of maundering about the blessings of education, Mr. Smith says how he would educate, how he thinks it right to educate, how he has agreed with and supported a political opponent in the actual business of educating, and how he is determined to oppose any attempt at reversing that policy. Then he says that having failed to procure a larger reduction of the income-tax, he means to try again; that having failed to lessen the burden of local rates, he still has the object in view, and means, in this matter also, to try again. Even on points which will not admit of equally positive enunciation, he is, if not definite or decisive, at all events intelligible. His conservative objection to "great constitutional changes which are not desired by the people" is clearly stated in direct opposition to Mr. James Thorold Rogers, who thinks nothing is more unstatesmanlike or more destructive than the doctrine that a political change is not required before it is demanded by a numerical majority. Imagine a Frenchman expressing the same sentiments in language as unaffected! It would be impossible. He could not for his life avoid that elaborate terseness which looks wonderfully like epigram—if we don't go too close to it.

Mr. Smith did not fail to take up Mr. Gladstone's gage, and to encounter him at the earliest opportunity. This, indeed, was the very next day, when a meeting of Conservative electors for Westminster was held in Warwick Street; but as our present memoir has no controversial intent, we shall briefly record the fact that Mr. Smith retorted with more than his ordinary warmth; and that, in the same speech, he vindicated his character for independence by reiterating a general sympathy with Mr. Forster on educational questions. At every meeting of his supporters Mr. Smith was received with such assurances of success as must have relieved him of nearly all care in the matter; and at noon on the 7th of February, the official declaration of the poll at the Guildhall in Broad Sanctuary showed that 9,371 electors had given him their votes, 8,681 having balloted for the other Conservative candidate, Sir Charles Russell. Sir Thomas

Fowell Buxton and Sir William Codrington, the Liberal candidates, were each some three or four thousand behind Sir Charles, while neither of them showed more than half the numbers which had been gained by Mr. Smith.

That this gentleman's continued assiduity in the practical fulfilment of his well-considered pledges has justified the extraordinary faith placed in him by nearly 10,000 of the burgesses of Westminster will not be denied even by the most determined of his political opponents. Many of these are foremost in according him praise such as only legislators of a high stamp have ever gained from their own party. His matter is always well arranged; and though delivered in a voice not very sonorous, and with some occasional hesitation, all he has to say is said to the point, and it invariably commands the attention of the House. It has been his good fortune hitherto to exert his growing influence wholly on the popular side. As we have already observed, he has repeatedly spoken against the income tax; and in 1871 he moved its reduction. In 1873 he renewed his remonstrances against this impost; and as he has never been known to swerve from any purpose he has once openly declared, it may be presumed that he is henceforth to be counted among the determined foes to a tax on uncertain incomes. The clear, straightforward manner of discussing any question that may be brought before him, and the urbane attention which he is always ready to bestow on those persons who seek his counsel or court his influence, fit him admirably for that trying department of government work, receiving deputations, and make him a model junior Lord of the Treasury. Whatever the subject, he is sure to have mastered its details; and it must be trivial indeed if he fail to find in it some germ of truth and justice in which he can honestly show a genuine interest. In fact, from the highest to the least important matters, from education to window-gardening—which may be fairly reckoned as an educational adjunct, after all—Mr. Smith has consistently shown himself a real friend of the people.

In 1858 Mr. Smith married the eldest daughter of Mr. Frederick Dawes Danvers, the Clerk of the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster since the reign of George IV.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.]



W. Morley Jones.



W. Morley Jones

THE REV. WILLIAM MORLEY PUNSHON.

THE Rev. William Morley Punshon, M.A., LL.D., was born at Doncaster on the 29th of May, 1824. He was the only child of a marriage of a draper of that town with the daughter of Mr. William Morley, an extensive timber merchant and shipowner, afterwards of Hull. Mr. Punshon's mother was sister to Sir Isaac Morley, one of the senior magistrates of the borough of Doncaster, and a member of a family which has made itself famous and respected in the annals of the municipality. William Morley Punshon received his early education at various boarding schools, finishing his course of instruction at the Doncaster Grammar School, where his studies were ordered and pursued in preparation for a university career. Upon that career, however, he never entered; for in the year 1838,—being then of the age of fourteen—he was sent into business with his grandfather at Hull. On the retirement of that gentleman from active commercial life, he was transferred to Sunderland, and it was in that thriving sea-port that his passion for the Christian ministry positively disclosed itself. William Morley Punshon had been reared in an atmosphere of domestic piety; his father and mother (now long since dead) were people who made religion the practice as well as the profession of their lives—who put on religion, not as a conventional garb like the evening dress which now-a-days passes as the emblem of respectability, but as the armour which was to protect them through the trials and temptations of life. The seed thus sown in childhood soon began to bear fruit as the boy ripened into youth and knowledge. Always of a studious, inquiring, thoughtful cast of mind, young Punshon seems in his teens to have discovered for himself that honourable and remunerative as are the paths of commercial activity, there are higher and nobler vocations for man than the mere accumulation of wealth and the acquisition of power and temporal fame. As we have said, the whole bias of his nature lay in the direction of the ministry; that was the great absorbing purpose upon which his ambition was fixed, and it is not sentimental flattery of Mr. Punshon to say, that it has happened well for the cause of Wesleyanism that neither the calls of business, nor the prospect of riches, nor the fascination of political life could lure him from his choice of duty. Prepared in some measure by regular and incessant study in his leisure, and impelled by strengthened religious convictions, William Morley Punshon in 1844 left Sunderland and its ship-building to enter upon a course of training at the Wesleyan College at Richmond. There he remained until the following year, when he went down to Marden, in Kent, to take charge of a congregation formed of a few people who had seceded from the Episcopal Church in that place on account of the ritualistic tendencies—or rather practices—of the clergyman. This, however, was not Mr. Punshon's first essay in the pulpit; during his stay at Sunderland, he frequently officiated as local preacher, his first sermon having been preached at Ellerby, near Hull, when he was only eighteen. Mr. Punshon's career at Marden was short, but successful. At the Wesleyan Conference in 1845, he was transferred to an obscure town in the north-west of Cumberland—a place, as we are told, dominated by

territorial influence and aristocratic ascendancy. From this, the scene of what may be called his first ministerial conquest, he proceeded to Whitehaven, where in the course of two years he worked—as we read—wonderful changes in the religious and social spirit of that then caste-ridden town. From Whitehaven we trace him to Carlisle, in which city he completed his four years' term of probation. In July, 1849, he was regularly ordained to the ministry at Oldham Street Chapel, Manchester. On that occasion he delivered an eloquent and characteristic address—a confession of his life. He traced his then position to the pious instruction and solicitude of his parents, to the teachings of the ministers upon whose services he had attended, and to the mysterious workings of Divine Providence, by which his religious impressions and principles had been strengthened and confirmed. Making himself in some sort the illustration, he took the opportunity of administering a rebuke much needed at all times by all sects. He felt, he said, that there was a danger lest personal piety should degenerate into official or professional piety—lest having to wear the garb, and speak the language, he should lose sight of the vitality and the warmth and the power of religion. He had, he said, tried religion under various circumstances, and it had never failed him. After his ordination Mr. Punshon served the circuit period of three years at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sheffield, London (Bayswater), London (Islington), and Clifton (Bristol). During his stay at Newcastle, Mr. Punshon married Miss Vickers, of Gateshead, by whom he had several children. She died about ten years afterwards.

In the year 1868, Mr. Punshon severed for a time his connection with the land of his birth. He went to Canada, where he was received with open arms by the Wesleyans of the Dominion, who knew his reputation and success, and who welcomed him as the acquisition he was. Before he left the shores of England, a farewell meeting was held, at which Mr. Punshon was presented with an address and a purse of £700. In his speech acknowledging the gift, he put the great peculiarity of Methodism, as he termed it, very epigrammatically: "Liberty almost to licence in every direction towards good; restraint almost to tyranny in every direction towards evil." On the 11th of April, Mr. Punshon sailed for Toronto. His description of the voyage, contributed at the time to one of the religious journals, is so eminently characteristic that it is appropriate as well as interesting to reproduce it here:—"Save only that we were mercifully preserved from peril, we had in our eleven days' voyage a compression of the experience of all possible voyages. I could not help thinking that it set forth in similitude the history of many a Christian life. Calm at the start; broken and troubled water when the Atlantic surges met us; heavy gales, blowing furiously against our progress; a sea majestic in its wrath, now making the ship to shake with trembling, now drenching it with showers of spray; the presence of three large icebergs, beautiful but dangerous neighbours; a shroud of fog which wrapped the heavens from our sight for a day and a half, during which the dreary fog-horn groaned out its dirge-like sound; calmer water as we approached the land, and then a brilliant sun, and a sea of exquisite beauty, as we sailed through the Narrows, and anchored in the fair haven. Do you not think that there are in our voyage the elements of a perpetual sermon? What heart, which has any experience of the things of God, does not understand this vicissitude within itself? How often is the fair start for heaven clouded soon by opposition and difficulty; then the blasts of persecution are fierce, and the billows of passion are angry. Then the heart is frosted by the world's chill neighbourhood, or darkened by the gathering doubts which heap their shadows round it. Oh, that the similitude may be carried on to the end! calm water coming with the latest sunrise, and an 'abundant entrance' and a joyous welcome at last."

Mr. Punshon's sojourn in Canada was marked by the most flattering success, both as regards the results of his work and the reception he publicly met with throughout the Dominion and the United States. Undertaking extensive preaching and lecturing tours, he made his way into almost every province, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, his travels resembling more the triumphal progress of some great martial chief than the peaceful wanderings of an ardent soldier of the Cross. Mr. Punshon's lectures brought him much and immediate popularity from the Canadian people. Throughout his vigorous and animating eloquence there runs a deep, faultless vein of human sympathy—a sympathy which at once lays strong hold of his hearers, softening their passions and intensifying their affections. The newspapers were daily aglow with the praises of the man, and Canadian Wesleyanism reflected back, so to speak, the light which English Methodism for the time being had lost. Nor was Mr. Punshon less successful in his preaching, though between his preaching and his lecturing there seems to be a wide and distinctive difference. He seems, as a preacher, to repudiate all adventitious aids of oratory; he leaves the old, old story, which he has never tired to tell, to find its way to the people, pure and simple—that old, old story to which human ingenuity can never add and can only take away. And thus it is, that one hearing Mr. Punshon first as a preacher and then as a lecturer is struck with the distinctive power and ability which he throws into the two divisions of his work. Shortly after his arrival in Toronto, Mr. Punshon married the sister of his deceased wife. This proceeding, as everybody remembers, caused some discussion at the time, both in Canada and at home. But for all this, neither his popularity nor his reputation were prejudiced; on the contrary, his manly and open repudiation of a law which many people in this country contend has no foundation or warrant either in religion, morals, or the physical preservation of society, was generally approved and applauded by his friends and admirers. Mr. Punshon did not enjoy his newly-made happiness long; for within a little more than two years his home was o'ershadowed by a second great grief in the death of his wife—a death which “linked him by a sorrow with two hemispheres.” In the early part of 1871, Mr. Punshon was chosen to represent the Canadian Churches at the annual Conference at Manchester in July, on which occasion he received a magnificent welcome. In his address to the Conference, Mr. Punshon described the position of Methodism in Canada. It was a great and blessed advantage, he said, that Methodism in that land walked abroad in the sunshine, that she cowered beneath no ancient shadow. She had there taken the position which she ought always to take among the Churches—standing forth in her comeliness as the peer of all, and in her charity as the friend of all; too kind to be the enemy, too proud to be the vassal of any; too affluent in spirit and resources to be the poor relation of any. Mr. Punshon insisted strongly on the adaptability of Methodism, over and above all other systems of religion: “it suited in the dense forest, or in the crowded city where the merchant counts his dollars, or where the Indian tracked the deer; in the hiving hum of industry, or in the remotest settlement where but lately the panther prowled, and where the adventurous settler had only just begun to fell the trees which centuries had rooted in the soil.”

During his stay in England, Mr. Punshon created some sensation—if we may be permitted the word—by preaching in the Metropolitan Tabernacle, on behalf of the Wesleyan Metropolitan Chapel Building Fund. It was no new thing on the part of Mr. Spurgeon to give up his rostrum—pulpit he has none—to ministers of other communions; but there was an interest and a significance in the meeting of the two great preachers that provoked a great deal of laudatory and congratulatory comment at the time. The event certainly was remarkable as illustrating that catholicity of feeling which has happily of late years been spreading more and more throughout all religious circles; and it

demonstrated in actual fact what had so often been laid down in theory, that it is possible for a man now and again to lay aside doctrinal distinctions and theological traditions without in any way offending his conscience or compromising his consistency. It would not be surprising if in time it should come to pass that the Dean of Westminster will lift up his eloquent voice from that same platform; for Mr. Spurgeon's only condition for these extra-ministerial utterances seems to be that the men who take his place shall preach Protestantism, pure and simple, as we have derived it from the Reformation. This calls to the writer's mind a little incident of last Easter which has some inverse apposition to the point. For a week or more previous to Good Friday, the walls of a church not a hundred miles from the "Elephant and Castle" were placarded with large posters bearing the words, "Good Friday! the day on which the Lord Jesus Christ died for us! What will you do on that day?" A somewhat singular—shall we say characteristic?—answer came from a few yards off. Good Friday at the Tabernacle was spent in cleaning and renovating the edifice. The contrast demands no comment.

In September, 1871, Mr. Punshon returned to Canada and resumed his work with renewed energy and success. At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, held at Brooklyn, in the following year, he, with the late Rev. Luke H. Wiseman, M.A., attended as representative of the British Conference. On that occasion he delivered an address which we find described as "one of the most finished and persuasive, beautiful and brilliant utterances ever delivered before the General Conference." In the course of his speech, he passed an eloquent eulogium upon the operations of the American churches—labours, he said, which had always attracted him, but of which he had never thought so highly as since he had looked upon them with nearer vision. "As I have gone in and out through your borders (said he), from Maine to California, and from where the father of waters leaves the fair city of St. Louis to where, in the far North, the forests wave on the shores of Puget's Sound—and as I have seen you abreast of the newest settlements everywhere, engaged in the same holy toil, planting the same blessed civilisation, uplifting the same consecrated cross—many a time has my heart throbbled with thankfulness to the God who has raised up this power in your country. I have chronicled your marches and successes with true brotherly pride, and have noted that you have not only leavened your own country, but in the munificence of your zeal you have crossed the Continent, have made the world a neighbourhood; and it is hardly too much to say you have girdled the world with a zone of labour and an atmosphere of prayer." In reviewing the then state and prospects of English Methodism—whose enterprises he had for some time only looked at through the "loopholes of retreat"—Mr. Punshon made a very able defence of his sect in its relation to the world:—"Time was, and not remotely"—he recalled—"when so formidable was the reproach of Methodism, and so overshadowing the influence beneath which it wrought and suffered, that it could scarcely get sufficiently into the light to let its pure religion and undefiled come under the observation of men. It was the custom sometimes to ignore it, sometimes with an air of patronage to tolerate it, sometimes kindly to apologise for it, and at last to associate its fervour with fanaticism, and to regard it as an irregular and very humble helper which might be suffered, though with some misgiving, to do a little guerilla fighting in the service of Christ. For long years English Methodism bore all this very patiently, courting no antagonism—like Nehemiah, hardly deigning to come down from its great work even to defend its character, but always planting churches, and always saving souls. Now it is having its reward. Of course, there are yet those who scorn and those who hinder; bigotry and prejudice are not by any means dead; but the Methodism of to-day occupies a very different position from the Methodism even of twenty years ago. It is now recognised as a spiritual power; it is hailed as an energetic ally.

Scholarship and culture are not denied to it. It is even escaping from the charge of being a vulgar thing. Its representatives are in the great councils of the nation. It sends its men—aye, and its women too—on the School Boards by which the education of the rising generation is directed. It has penetrated even into Westminster Abbey. Its sons sit among the learned, as learned as any, on the Council of the Biblical Revision. And whilst thousands and tens of thousands listen to its clear teaching of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, its influences are felt like an atmosphere breathed unconsciously, like air-waves breaking upon society at every point with unseen but resistless pressure.

. . . . Days of obscurity and reproach are the days of the Church's testimony, when she endures hardness and nurses heroes, and cultivates the faith which is the stuff of which martyrs are made." "I have discovered," said he, further on in his oration, "what I think to be a very hopeful sign in British Methodism, and that is, that while it retains with unbending firmness all its former principles, it has become more flexible in its modes of action. It adapts itself to new necessities with an easier grace; it looks with more indulgence on bold efforts to do the Master's work, although they may not run quite in the respectable groove of former times. Hence have sprung the princely efforts which are announced as being made on so large a scale for the erection of fifty churches in London within the next few years, for the employment of lay agents specially fitted and furnished to make a raid on its darkness and sin, and otherwise for the moral conquest of the vast mass of human life--the ocean with its millions of billows, so many of which are raging waves foaming out their own shame." In concluding his address, Mr. Punshon went name by name through the death-roll of the four years since the last Conference was held, the exquisite and varied imagery with which he depicted the Christian's apotheosis creating, as we are told by the newspaper reports of the proceedings, a profound sensation throughout the assembly.

During his sojourn in Canada, Mr. Punshon received the degree of LL.D. from Victoria University, Cobourg--an institution to which he rendered signal service in procuring for it an adequate endowment. Some years before his residence in Canada he had received the degree of M.A. from Middletown University, Connecticut.

In 1873, Mr. Punshon resolved to return to England--a decision which, it is recorded, evoked the universal regret of the people of the Dominion. At Toronto, on the day previous to his departure, his friends of the Metropolitan Church there placed in his hands a casket containing 4,000 dollars, and bade him farewell with an enthusiasm which was undoubtedly as genuine on the one side as it was flattering to the other. Escaping all the perils of the Atlantic, Mr. Punshon once more set foot in England, on the 3rd of June, 1873, to meet only with another welcome at home. Settling down to work, after a short rest, he preached a sermon of remarkable power in the City Road Chapel, in aid of the Chapel Building Fund, on which occasion his appeal for help realised no less than £2,000. On the 17th of June, Mr. Punshon married Miss Mary Foster, daughter of the late Mr. William Foster, of Sheffield, who is therefore his third wife. Shortly after, he was appointed to the chapel in Warwick Garden, Kensington, and subsequently, at the annual Conference of the next year, he was, by a large majority, elected President for the following twelve months. There is every reason to know that the office will derive fresh lustre from the sound judgment and the great administrative ability which he has once more brought to bear upon the management of the affairs of Methodism throughout the country.

Mr. Punshon has done more, perhaps, than any other divine of his own Connexion to popularise Methodism in this country. It is a remarkable thing that a sect founded by a man whose history forms one of the brightest pages in the religious annals of our land should

for so many years have laid under an almost overpowering reproach. Down even to the present day, it is the fashion amongst some—a dwindling section, happily—to apply the word “Methodist” as a derisive epithet to all exact and rigid Christians. It may be that the Wesleyans have themselves to thank, in some measure, for the treatment. It may be that in time past they wore their religion too outwardly; that they were rueful of mien and manner, and made their services dolorous and depressing instead of joyous and exhilarating. It may be that aforesometimes they made their piety rather too intrusive in its connection with the affairs of the world, and in that way themselves provoked the sneers and ridicule of scoffers and unbelievers. But whatever there may have been, or may be, in all this, there is no doubt that the accession of recent years of men like Mr. Punshon to the ranks of the ministry has infused into Methodism a robustness of spirit and aspect which has most properly resented it from the opprobrium under which it at one time laboured. There is nothing mealy-mouthed or lachrymose about Mr. Punshon as he delivers his message to the people. If anything, he errs a trifle on the other side, by occasionally falling too much into the Boanerges style of oratory. He has followed the dictum of Dr. Johnson that “delivery is more potential than eloquent matter,” only with this contributory difference—that he gives us the matter as well as the delivery. A great deal of Mr. Punshon’s success as an orator is due to his complete mastery of the art of word-painting, by which he is enabled to bring all he says and wishes to convey with realistic force and power before the eyes as well as the ears of his audience. His style and peculiarities were very aptly criticised some time ago by a Manchester journal on the occasion of his delivering a lecture in that city on “Florence and its Memories.” “Mr. Punshon,” said the writer, “has not the look of an orator. When he began to speak, his voice was very disappointing; it sounded husky, and not musical. But the power of the speaker soon showed itself, and the growing clearness and animation of the lecturer’s utterances left our faculties free to enjoy. The first noticeable characteristic in Mr. Punshon’s delivery was the exact pronunciation of every word. Not a syllable was permitted to escape, and on two occasions when the right modulation had not been given the speaker repeated the words. With a beautifully varied vocabulary, and a graphic power of portrayal of character and description of scenery, combined with elocutionary talent of no second-rate order, he led us on from point to point, from period to period, and from man to man, until Florence stood fair and lovely before us, and its dead heroes were again clothed with flesh and endowed with voices. . . . It was not the oration of a deep thinker, but of a man who, with an enthusiastic admiration of the great and true in human endeavour, combined with a fervour of religious feeling which was grand in itself, marshalled the results of his reading and observations with an order and sequence which made listening easy, and with an application to home which awake our deepest sympathies.” It is a prominent characteristic of Mr. Punshon’s utterances that they read as well as they sound, showing that they are not the mere bubble-ups of a fervid imagination to a ready tongue, but rather the results of deep study and careful preparation. On one occasion, when advocating the cause of Wesleyan Missions at Exeter Hall, Mr. Punshon took his audience by surprise by relating a dream he had. “I dreamed,” said he, “of a beautiful island, or perhaps a group of islands, which I thought had arisen from the sea. Tradition showed that some 300 years ago they were all overflowed with water; indeed, one of them was very largely under water still, and the others bore traces of the flood. The sea roared angrily in the distance, and there was danger, I thought, that it might encroach again; and the inhabitants of the island seemed to think so; for as the land was on a low level, they built dykes, as in Holland, and appointed warders, and gave them charge to watch the approach of the waves. For awhile all went well; harvests grew and were

gathered upon the reclaimed ground, and there was the hum of industry and the hymn of praise. By-and-by, a rumour arose that the sea was getting nearer and higher, and here and there a warder called attention to it; but he was laughed at by his fellows for his pains, and the people took no heed of his words; but I saw with the dreamer's insight, which sees the end from the beginning, the steady onward creeping of the water. At last there could be no doubt about it. The sea was higher and nearer than the oldest islanders had ever known; but, still, it was the summer-time, and the skies were blue and the winds were calm, and men talked a little about the progress of the ocean, but that was all; and though certain churches which the old men remembered to have been many miles inland were now standing by the very verge of the cliff, and were almost undermined, still men felt no fear. Were not the warders there, and were they not doing their duty? were not the dykes up, and were not they all secure? By-and-by years rolled away—for dreams, you know, take no note of time—and presently there were tidings that some of the warders had been caught slumbering at their posts; still men felt no fear. Then there was one part of the embankment which was known to be confessedly insecure, but that part was mainly inhabited by ladies, who did not like the warders to intrude upon their privacy, and it was deemed ungallant to go there. But I saw in my dream, oozing through that part of the embankment, the treacherous water. And then by-and-by from that island which was almost submerged it was thought necessary to bring skilled mariners in to teach the people the habits of the sea, and they were paid by the authorities, I thought. I must have been mistaken—with that intent; but I thought in my dream that these men were steadily opening the floodgates and letting in the water. Then, there were many rough and violent kinsmen of these skilled mariners who by breaking the law, had been confined in prison, and the mariners claimed that, although they were shut up there, their education must not be stopped, and as nobody could teach them but themselves, they got admittance there; and by-and-by, outside the walls of the prison there were the splashing waves, and through the chinks of the masonry the damp, cold, cruel water. And so the sea rose and swelled, until the islanders got accustomed to it, and talked about taking the warders from their posts and throwing down the dykes altogether. Then there came a change upon my dream, and in place of northern latitudes, and in the place of people living a long way from the sea, fenced from it by a rock-bound coast and by strong defences, the sea was all round; for the island, like another Venice, had married the sea, and the sea had hidden the ring, and was a jealous and cruel bride. Still it was summer-time, and the people felt no fear. There was one part of the sea where the waters had a strange hue, and moved with sluggish course, and men spoke under their breath and avowed it was stained with blood and choked with corpses; but it was deemed bad manners to refer to it in company, and it was forbidden for the fishermen to cast their nets in there. Then there were gay bridges here and there, and palaces rose up, and men ate and drank and smiled, and went about their business, careless as the old world whilst the ark was preparing, and all round and all about, at the doors of the palaces, on the steps of the churches, advancing into every by-way, creeping into many coils about the city's heart, there was the same silent, black, deceitful, treacherous water. And it grieved me in my dream to see how foolish men were to let it get so near them, and to compass them so thoroughly round. For I saw that the winter was coming, and that it needed only the summons of the storm to swell the turbid waters until the devoted country was engulfed in another deluge.” Mr. Punshon interpreted this dream as the similitude of the stealthy, snake-like encroachments of the Church of Rome, against whose system he raised a vehement and passionate protest as having been “a curse and a mildew to every country where it had ever prevailed.” The newspaper from which we make the above extract says that Mr. Punshon’s address was followed by cheers “as loud and as long-protracted as any with which Exeter Hall has ever been shaken.”

Amongst the published works of Mr. Punshon are four sermons on the Prodigal Son, which were brought out at the time of his departure for Canada; two poetical volumes, entitled "Lays of Hope" and "Sabbath Chimes;" and a few pamphlets on various subjects. Selections from his sermons are also to be had in printed form.

Mr. Punshon has never, we believe, figured prominently in the turbid field of politics, like Mr. R. W. Dale, the late Mr. Charles Vince, Mr. George Dawson, and other Dissenting preachers, but we know we shall not be running much risk of contradiction by stating that his "proclivities" are decidedly Liberal, which is all that we are able to state in these days when it is unlawful to ask a man which way he has voted. Leaving the affairs of the State to others, Mr. Punshon's life, since he became a man, has been devoted to the pulpit and the platform; and Wesleyan Methodism in this country and in other countries has cause to be thankful that it has been so, as it will have cause to be sad when the day comes that his eminent talent and irrepressible zeal are withdrawn from its service.

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Mr. C. H. Braithwaite, of Leeds.]



Chaplin



Pygott

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

IT is not often that the statesman, the literary man, and the theological debater are found in combination. Mr. Gladstone is probably the most prominent instance of the possession of the triune faculty in our time; but the Duke of Argyll is certainly the next. It is more the fashion now than it used to be for men engaged in politics occasionally to leave these stormy heights, and to come down to the milder and more general world of letters. The Prime Minister himself is a great romancist; and a humbler member of the House of Commons is a writer of most charming fairy tales. There appears, in fact, to be a growing sense among statesmen of the importance of a wider education than that which is necessary for the politician pure and simple—a sense of the importance of that general cultivation and that general acquaintance with the tone and feeling of the age which finds its best outcome in the literary life, and which can only be attained to by those who are in sympathy with many things outside the technical ground of their own profession. The Duke of Argyll is distinguished from the great mass of politicians in the Upper and Lower Chambers by the general cultivation and the varied acquirements which he has brought to bear upon politics. There is an inevitable tendency on the part of those of our hereditary legislators who at all “train” in politics, to do so somewhat to the exclusion of other matters which, with regard to the general formation of character, are of at least equal importance. It is partly on this account, probably, that of late years—although, here and there, a great and brilliant exception may be found—our noble houses have been perhaps less than ever prolific in the production of eminent statesmen. A statesman can be no more created by the study of politics alone—employing the word in that restricted sense in which it is ordinarily used—than a poet can be manufactured by dictionary studies and by an acquaintance with the laws and facts of syntax and etymology. The tendency just spoken of the Duke of Argyll has avoided, and he is among statesmen one of the most thoughtful and the most cultivated. Without being a man of any very marked originality, he has something of the force which is the original man’s chief characteristic. He is very strongly representative in a national sense, and in his own person illustrates the Scotch character with some breadth and accuracy. He is cautious in acceptance, confident of that which he has accepted, and fervid in belief and statement. He has a good deal of the combative element, and but little humour. Even in this latter respect he is nationally typical, for it may be pretty generally affirmed that when a Scotchman does not display great humour he displays scarcely any.

George Douglas Campbell, Baron Sundridge, Duke of Argyll, is the only surviving son of John Douglas, seventh Duke of the line. He was born on the 30th April, 1823, and succeeded to the title in 1844. He took his place in public life early, and was known as a writer, a public speaker, and a politician, before his accession to his father’s honours. As the Marquis

of Lorne he made some stir in Scottish theological circles by a pamphlet published in 1842, bearing title "A Letter to the Peers: from a Peer's Son." The question taken up in this brochure was that of patronage in the Church of Scotland. A later production by him on the same subject was addressed in the form of a letter to Dr. Chalmers, from whose extreme views he ventured to dissent. Dr. Chalmers was at this time at the zenith of his fame, and the advance against the position assumed by him was very significant of that boldness of attack which has always distinguished the Duke of Argyll. The whole of the Duke's earlier public career was tinged by the theological element, and his character was in a great degree moulded by the strife of varying Church politics. It will probably be the better course to separate the literary and political elements of his life, and to review each separately, rather than to observe a merely chronological order of narrative.

Those earlier pamphlets and letters were mainly concerned with a somewhat parochial kind of Church polity, and may be passed over as affording but little matter of general interest. They were written, as might have been expected at the hands of so young a champion, with something too much of that spirit which magnifies the most trifling divergence of opinion into matter for serious battle. The first work of importance given to the world by His Grace was entitled "Presbytery Examined: an Essay, Critical and Historical, on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation." It excited a good deal of comment and discussion, and its author became the target for all sorts of controversial missiles from those whose dogmas he had disturbed. The Church of England sent out more than one champion against him, and Episcopacy in Scotland did its best in opposition to his views. It was regretted by the kindest and the ablest of His Grace's reviewers that he had not held entirely to the question of ecclesiastical history, and that "the muse of History had resigned her pen to the grim sister, unknown to Helicon, who presides over ecclesiastical controversy." The principle he desired to demonstrate was that the pretensions set up by the Church of Scotland, and still maintained by the Free Church, to exclusive jurisdiction in matters spiritual free of the control of the civil magistrate, is a dogma engrafted on the Church, as established by John Knox, without Scripture authority, unfounded in itself, and pernicious in its results. This was a question on which there was ample room for liberality, though that was scarcely the chief characteristic displayed. The language of the work is spirited, and its thoughts are acute and vigorous; but its conclusions are all marked by too great a rigidity of confidence, and the book as a whole has something too much of the dictator's style. The writer was then but five-and-twenty years of age, and the book has the usual blemishes and the usual virtues of works written by earnest and enthusiastic young men. The verdict of the *Edinburgh Review* was at once kindly and admonitory. The judgment set upon the "Presbytery Examined" in its pages was this: "The book breathes a noble spirit—generous, if presumptuous; and candid, if not profound;" and that criticism may be said very fairly to describe it.

On the 26th March, His Grace was installed as Chancellor of the University of St. Andrew's, and of course delivered the customary address to the students. In the opening passages of that address he remarked that he was in a position which had now grown somewhat singular—that of never having been educated at any public institution. He professed, however, a very high admiration of those advantages which he had himself never enjoyed, and was convinced that they were of such a nature as not to be obtainable by any private training. There is indeed a value in the training of a public school, or in that of college life, to which almost all our public men bear willing, and not unfrequently enthusiastic, witness. A man finds for himself the relative position he is entitled to hold with regard to other men, and he makes that important discovery by a far easier and a far healthier

process than is possible in after-life. Most valuable of all the benefits conferred by a public school or a collegiate training is that wise tolerance of the idiosyncrasies of others, and that broad catholicity of sympathy which, to those who have not known such a training, comes only by long mingling with the older world. The Duke of Argyll spoke to the students of the interest attaching to the venerable building in which they met; of the Christian ministry, and its new duties in view of the vague and splendid speculations of the day; of the changing nature of error, and the immutability of truth; of the necessity for making good use of time. The address was signally earnest and vivid from first to last, and was not wanting in a certain sort of picturesqueness at times.

Two years later His Grace was elected Rector of the University of Glasgow, and was thus set in the place which had been occupied by Jeffrey, Brougham, Peel, Macaulay, and Alison.

For some time his pen lay idle or nearly so; but in the year 1866 he produced the ablest and most considerable of his works, "The Reign of Law." This book embodies one of the few attempts which have been made to disentangle the web of perplexity, suspicion, and doubt in which many minds were, and still are, involved through that confusion of thought and phraseology from which the writings of scientific men have been so rarely free. The book is not one of many ideas, but those which it maintains are well and frankly put. It is plain that the writer is possessed of a good deal of accurate knowledge, and much of that knowledge has evidently been acquired at first hand—especially in the department of natural history. Perhaps the most charming and interesting portion of the work is the chapter which treats of the flight of the bird, and striking evidence of the special knowledge alluded to is here given. The writer gives in a foot-note at the end of that chapter a personal statement which it may perhaps be well to transmit to these pages:—"I owe to my father my knowledge of the theory of flight which is expounded in this chapter. The retired life he led, and the dislike he had of literary composition, confined the knowledge of his views within a comparatively narrow circle. But his love of mechanical science, and his study of the problem during many years of investigation and experiment, made him thoroughly master of the subject. The result of his investigation led him to the belief that until a lighter moving-power than steam is discovered, it will be impossible to construct successfully machines for the navigation of the air. I shall only add that, having made ornithology a favourite pursuit, I have been led during many years to test this theory by a close observation of the flight of birds, and that, from the manner in which it fits into and explains all the facts, I have been always more and more satisfied of its truth." His Grace, in his treatment of the whole problem which opens out before him, takes up the one mental position which alone can insure carefulness. He has no reserves on the side of science, and no hesitation on the side of religion. The purpose set before himself by the writer is broad, and full of difficulties. One of his reviewers wrote that the general fault of books of this kind is that the attempted reconciliation between science and religion is rarely sought without a leaning to one side or the other. Either the religious writer holds a secret belief in science or a secret fear of it, or the scientist is doubtful in his theology. The Duke of Argyll, pronounces the reviewer, has neither of these faults. He does not present himself as either philosopher or theologian, but as having a sufficient knowledge of the lore of both philosophy and theology to enable him to judge candidly of the arguments of both. The attempt is one of enormous difficulties and of great dangers. No such work could in the very nature of things be pronounced an unqualified success. Standing as modern thought does between the extreme of dogma and the extreme of doubt, between Ultramontane possibilities of faith and a strongly fortified materialism,

it is almost impossible that any one man should be able to find a middle course alike for faith and for science which shall afford general satisfaction. At the best he can carry with him but few who did not beforehand agree with him with respect to matters that are fundamental to the subject of which he treats. But it must be allowed that for what could be effected in this direction the Duke of Argyll has very boldly and earnestly striven, and that he has to an unexpected extent achieved his purpose. The main essential in the preparation of such a work is of course that the writer shall preserve a judicial impartiality. Such an impartiality is evidently sought after here, and is to a large extent attained. The aim is, while concealing no fact of science, to surrender no fact of religion, and in that aim the author has succeeded. But it would be too daring to say that he has in all cases reconciled apparently opposing truths, or that he has always succeeded in deducing from the new seed of a received scientific opinion the postulates of an old theological fact. In brief, the book may be regarded as a bold and skilful contribution to a controversy which must of necessity be endless, because from it must spring ever-new controversies, which can only be definitively decided by a perfect knowledge of scientific fact and a perfect estimate of theologic truths. But if the Duke of Argyll has not always succeeded in establishing the harmony he seeks, it is because of imperfect demonstration, and not on account of any surrender of principle on either side.

The book ran through four editions in its original form; and in less than two years from the date of its first publication, a fifth edition in a cheaper form was called for and issued.

In the work entitled "Primeval Man," the Duke of Argyll deals with a subject very similar to that handled in "The Reign of Law." Here again his object is to justify science with revelation. His motive appears to have been supplied by the essay of Sir John Lubbock in answer to the arguments of Whateley. The late Archbishop of Dublin had advanced the proposition that mere savages—that is to say, men in the lowest degree, or even approaching the lowest degree of barbarism in which they can exist at all—never did, and never can, unaided, raise themselves into a higher condition; that they do not invent or discover, that they are slow to learn even when brought into contact with the higher races. Dr. Whateley's whole contention lies in the statement that people in such a condition do not and cannot rise without some external aid or instruction by way of start. The logical deduction from this of course is that, since no man was in existence to effect the work of civilisation in the first instance, that work must have been the result of the action of a Superior Being. The inevitable results of the doctrine of evolution were strongly in opposition to this theory, and Sir John Lubbock's essay based itself upon the final developments of that doctrine. Attacking the theories of evolution and development on which the case of his opponent rests, His Grace argues that the difficulties in the way of accepting Sir John's hypothesis are not theological but scientific. The first of those difficulties he points out with a very admirable lucidity and directness. "All the theories of development," he writes, "ascribe known causes to unknown effects." It would not be easy to put this argument more clearly, tersely, or forcibly; and indeed the whole volume displays an acumen of this kind. It is, however, too much popularised to be exactly scientific, and is written in too brief and cursory a manner to afford as complete an answer to the arguments against which it is directed as it would be possible to bring forward. This absence of the strictly scientific spirit is readily explained by the fact that the work was originally written for, and published in, the pages of a popular magazine.

His Grace's next work, and the last to which we shall call attention, carries the reader

from the reach of all disputations except those in which antiquarians indulge. And even antiquarians are scarcely likely to dispute with the Duke of Argyll concerning the relics of the island of Iona. That island forms part of the estates of His Grace, and he has made it twice his own in this charming volume. "Iona" is the book which displays him in the pleasantest and most intimate light, and it is full of interest, not only for the historian and the lover of reminders of old times, but for the general reader.

The Duke never enjoyed that training which falls to the lot of most of those among our hereditary legislators who are destined to make a name. It is a significant fact that the Lords take their rise, so far as political influence is concerned, from the Commons; and there are few among them who, without the advantage of an experience in the Lower Chamber, rise to any great political importance among their peers. To this rule the Duke of Argyll is an exception. On the death of his father in 1847, whilst he himself was still a very young man, he entered the House of Lords. The administration of the affairs of the country was at that time conducted by Lord John Russell, to whose Government His Grace gave in a general adhesion, whilst at the same time he identified himself with the Liberal-Conservative section of the House. Almost from the time of his advent he interested himself in all Scottish questions, especially in those concerning the Church, and his voice was frequently heard in debate. The year 1852, which was especially fruitful in Ministerial changes, saw his first introduction to office. With the opening of that year came the dismissal of Lord Palmerston and the promise of a new Reform Bill. The Russell Ministry, weakened by the absence of one of the most popular of its members, fell before an amendment moved by him on a measure introduced by his late Ministerial chief with regard to the militia, and their position as a protective force. The Earl of Derby was sent for by Her Majesty, and to him was deputed the task of forming that short-lived Conservative Administration which presented Mr. Disraeli with the opportunity for bringing forward his first Budget. That Budget was the approximate means by which the Cabinet was wrecked, and the Government which followed was formed by the Earl of Aberdeen. The Earl himself occupied the post of First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Palmerston was Home Secretary, Lord Russell was foreign Secretary, and Earl Granville President of the Council. In this Ministry, which in respect to the personal talent of its members was certainly far in advance of any other of modern times, the Duke of Argyll held the post of Lord Privy Seal. But the Government thus formed by a coalition of the Whig and Peelite parties underwent many changes and vicissitudes, and after embarking upon the war with Russia, was defeated on the motion of Mr. Roebuck to inquire into the condition of the British troops before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it had been to minister to the wants of that army. The condition into which the nation was thus thrown was one of much delicacy, but it was made somewhat less embarrassing by the fact that, since the late Government had been based upon a compromise, it was not now found necessary to effect a complete change in the *personnel* of the Cabinet. Lord Palmerston was called to the place lately held by the Earl of Aberdeen, and Earl Granville and Mr. Gladstone retained their offices entrusted to them by the late Government, as did also the Duke of Argyll. As Postmaster-General—an office to which he was transferred on the appointment of Lord Canning to the Governor-Generalship of India in 1855—the Duke of Argyll worked with great industry and thoroughness, making himself complete master of all the mechanism of his department, and acquiring a most intimate and extensive knowledge of the duties of his

subordinates, and of the capacity of the postal system. On the restoration of Lord Palmerston to power in the spring of 1859, the Conservative Ministry having resigned in consequence of a vote of want of confidence passed by the new Parliament, the Duke of Argyll was re-appointed to his old post of Lord Privy Seal, which he retained uninterruptedly until the resignation, in June, 1866, of Earl Russell, who had succeeded to the Premiership on the death of Lord Palmerston in October, 1865. When Mr. Gladstone assumed the direction of affairs after the General Election of 1868—that Election which yielded him the unparalleled majority of 120 votes in the House of Commons—the Duke of Argyll was awarded the important and responsible post of Indian Secretary, which he held until the dissolution of Parliament in February of last year. This appointment at the time received the spontaneous approbation of the Liberal party throughout the country, as being a just and fitting recognition of the long and valuable services rendered by the noble Duke in the cause of civil and religious liberty; and now that he was relegated to a position in the Cabinet more worthy his capacity as a statesman and an administrator, his new career as manager of our vast Asiatic Empire was watched by his friends and admirers with intense interest and close attention. Those who framed their estimates of the future on the performances of the past, unhesitatingly predicted that the follower of Viscount Cranbourne in office would meet with success—and they predicted truly. The Duke of Argyll succeeded in the face of many difficulties and serious dangers; if he had failed, the failure would have been complete and fatal to his reputation as a statesman. The prospect laid open to the noble Duke on his entry to the India Office was at the time accurately and succinctly sketched as follows:—"The Duke of Argyll's previous official experience as Lord Privy Seal, and at the Post Office, was not perhaps a very valuable preliminary discipline for that momentous work" (*i.e.*, the Indian Secretaryship). "The English public is newly roused to a sense of the duties incumbent upon it in India, and the perils which await their tardy or inadequate performance. If the Duke of Argyll has the courage and capacity to meet the obligations, and to disarm—so far as wise policy can do so—the dangers of the situation, he will add to the historic fame of his house, and secure a higher place than he has yet won among English statesmen. But, to attain this end, he must have the rare courage—rarer in the India Office than in any department of State—to inform himself at first hand of facts, to see things with his own eyes, and to act upon his own deliberate convictions instead of guiding himself by traditions of the office, looking at things through the spectacles of permanent 'heads,' and doing the bidding of the most experienced manager. The Duke of Argyll has shown in social matters an independence of mind, which needs only to be transferred to politics in order to enable him to do good service." The last clause of this short introspect was fulfilled with marvellous truth by the noble Duke's policy of Indian Administration; and if it should not be given to His Grace again to serve the nation in any high department of the State, he will have done sufficient to secure himself a lasting place in the grateful memories of the British people.

In the Parliamentary arena, the Duke of Argyll has proved himself a ready and formidable debater. His manner when speaking, his tone of oratory, his very appearance, are eminently characteristic. When he walks up to the table of the House of Lords, it is with an air of defiant confidence—confidence, it would seem, not so much in himself as in the invulnerable justness of his cause. Though a hard hitter himself, the noble Duke generally accepts his punishment, when he does meet his match, with quiet and graceful fortitude. On one occasion, however, during the progress of the Irish Church Bill in the House of Lords, he suffered himself to be carried away

by the intense excitement and bitterness of feeling which prevailed throughout the discussion of that famous measure. In the course of his speech on the motion for the third reading of the Bill—a speech remarkable for its pungent and vigorous eloquence—he described Earl Grey as “the chartered libertine of debate,” and directly accused his lordship of violating the decencies of discussion. Later in the evening, however, the Earl of Winchester furnished more than a set-off by likening Mr. Gladstone to Jack Cade, hinting at the same time of the coming of an Oliver Cromwell, and announcing his readiness to lay his head upon the block sooner than surrender. In Parliament, the Duke of Argyll has spoken on Jewish Emancipation, Scotch Marriage Laws, Corrupt Practices at Elections, the Sugar Duties, Foreign Affairs, Ecclesiastical Titles, the Scotch Law of Entail, the Repeal of the Paper Duties, Hypothec, and other questions. One of his extra-Parliamentary utterances, on the American Rebellion, deserves to be reproduced here, as indicating the feeling of the Cabinet of the time on that momentous struggle. Addressing a meeting of his tenantry in October, 1861, he said: “Whatever we may think of the contest, in fairness to our American friends we ought to admit that no more tremendous issues were ever submitted to the dread arbitrament of war than those which are now submitted to it on the American Continent. I do not care whether we look at it from the Northern or from the Southern point of view. Take the mere question of what is called the right of secession. I know of no Government which has ever existed in the world, which could possibly have admitted the right of secession from its own allegiance. There is a curious animal in Loch Fyne which I have sometimes dredged up from the bottom of the sea, and which performs the most extraordinary and unaccountable acts of suicide and self-destruction. It is a peculiar kind of starfish, which, when brought up from the bottom of the water, and when any attempt is made to take hold of it, immediately throws off all its arms, its very centre breaks up, and nothing remains of one of the most beautiful forms in nature but a thousand wriggling fragments. Such undoubtedly would have been the fate of the American Union, if its Government had admitted what it called the right of secession. Gentlemen, I think we ought to admit, in fairness to the Americans, that there are some things worth fighting for, and that national existence is one of them.”

Without any violation of good taste, we may notice a rather remarkable feature in the social *status* of the family of the Duke of Argyll. Little more than four years ago, the Queen of England gave her fourth daughter, the Princess Louise, in marriage to the Marquis of Lorne, the heir to the Dukedom of Argyll. This act of Royal condescension, dictated by the highest feelings of maternal solicitude, was received by the nation with every expression of joy and satisfaction; for in that union the people discovered the readiness of Her Majesty to sacrifice State expediency and Court etiquette that the happiness of her child might be secured in a marriage of pure affection. Now, although the Duke of Argyll is by that interesting event personally allied to Royalty, he is at the same time the father of two sons who, we believe, have been for some time directly connected with the trade of this country. One of these sons is a banker in London.

This short biographical sketch cannot be better concluded than by quoting Lord Dufferin's graphic *resumé* of the great historical traditions of the House of Argyll, as given in the “Saga of the Clan Campbell,” in “Letters from High Latitudes”:—

“It told him how in ancient days three warriors came from Green Jerne to dwell in the wild glens of Cowal and Lochow; how one of them, the swirt Breachdan, all for the love of blue-eyed Eila, swam the gulf, once with a clew of thread, then with a hempen rope, last with an iron chain; but this time, alas! the returning tide sucks down the over-tasked hero into its swirling vortex;—how Diarmid O'Dum, i.e. Son of “the Brown,” slew with his own hand the mighty

boar, whose head still scowls over the escutcheon of the Campbells;—how in later times, while the murdered Duncan's son, afterwards the great Malcolm Canmore, was yet an exile at the court of his Northumbrian uncle, ere Birnam Wood had marched to Dunsinane, the first Campbell, *i.e.* Campus-bellus Beaw-champ, a Norman knight and nephew of the Conqueror, having won the hand of the Lady Eva, sole heiress of the race of Diarmids, became master of the Lands and Lordships of Argyll;—how six generations later—each of them notable in their day—the valiant Sir Colin created for his posterity a title prouder than any within a sovereign's power to bestow, which no forfeiture could attain, no Act of Parliament recal; for though he ceased to be Duke or Earl, the head of the Clan Campbell will still remain Mac Calam More,—and how at last the same Sir Colin fell at the String of Cowal, beneath the sword of that fierce lord, whose granddaughter was destined to bind the honours of his own heirless house round the coronet of his slain foeman's descendant;—how Sir Neil at Bannockburn fought side by side with the Bruce, whose sister he had married;—how Colin, the first Earl, wooed and won the Lady Isabel, sprung from the race of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, thus adding the galleys of Lorn to the blazonry of Argyll;—how the next Earl died at Flodden, and his successor fought not less disastrously at Pinkie;—how Archibald, fifth Earl, whose wife was at supper with the Queen, her half-sister, when Rizzio was murdered, fell on the field of Langside, smitten not by the hand of the enemy, but by the finger of God;—how Colin, Earl and boy-general at fifteen, was dragged away by force, with tears in his eyes, from the unhappy skirmish at Glenlivet, where his brave Highlanders were being swept down by the artillery of Huntley and Errol,—destined to regild his spurs in future years on the soil of Spain. Then I told him of the great Rebellion, and how, amid the tumult of the next fifty years, the grim Marquis—Gillespieh Grumach as his squint caused him to be called—Montrose's fatal foe, staked life and fortunes in the deadly game engaged in by the fierce spirits of that generation, and losing, paid the forfeit with his head, as calmly as became a brave and noble gentleman, leaving an example which his son—already twice rescued from the scaffold, once by a daughter of the ever-gallant house of Lindsay, again a prisoner, and a rebel, because four years too soon to be a patriot—has nobly imitated;—how, at last, the clouds of misfortune cleared away, and honours clustered where only merit had been before; the martyr's aureole, almost become hereditary, being replaced in the next generation by a ducal coronet, itself to be regilt in its turn with a less sinister lustre by him—

“The State's whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the Senate and the Field”—

who baffled Walpole in the Cabinet, and conquered with Marlborough at Ramilies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet;—and, last,—how at that present moment, even while we were speaking, the heir to all these noble reminiscences, the young chief of this princely line, had already won, at the age of twenty-nine, by the manly vigour of his intellect and his hereditary independence of character, the confidence of his fellow-countrymen, and a seat at the “council-board of his sovereign.”

[The Portrait prefixed to this Memoir is copied, by permission, from a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott & Fry.]

